

# THREE BYZANTINE MILITARY TREATISES

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

*by*

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Dumbarton Oaks  
Research Library and Collection  
Washington, D.C.  
1985

CORPUS FONTIUM  
HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

CONSILIO SOCIETATIS INTERNATIONALIS  
STUDIIS BYZANTINIS PROVEHENDIS DESTINATAE  
EDITUM

VOLUMEN XXV

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TRES TRACTATUS BYZANTINI  
DE RE MILITARI

EDIDIT, ANGLICE VERTIT,  
ET ADNOTAVIT  
GEORGE T. DENNIS

SERIES WASHINGTONIENSIS  
EDIDIT I HOR ŠEVČENKO

In aedibus Dumbarton Oaks

Washingtoniae, D.C.

MCMLXXXV

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the text and translation of this volume have been verified  
by Ihor Ševčenko and John Duffy*

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Three Byzantine military treatises.

(Dumbarton Oaks texts; 9) (Corpus fontium historiae  
Byzantinae; v. 25. Series Washingtoniensis)

Translated from the Greek.

Contents: The anonymous Byzantine treatise on strategy  
—Skirmishing—Campaign organization and tactics.

1. Military art and science—Byzantine Empire—  
Addresses, essays, lectures. 2. Byzantine Empire—  
History, Military—Addresses, essays, lectures.

I. Dennis, George T. II. Anonymous Byzantine treatise on  
strategy. 1985. III. Skirmishing. 1985. IV. Campaign  
organization and tactics. 1985. V. Series. VI. Series.

U37.T47 1985 355.4'09495 84-26053

ISBN 0-88402-140-8

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## PREFACE

The people whom we call Byzantines are generally regarded as having been preoccupied with religion and rhetoric, and we expect this to be reflected in the books which they read and which they wrote. They were, indeed, deeply interested in theology and in classical Greek literature, as well as in other things. But for a thousand years their primary concern was with survival and security, and it must be admitted that, considering the times in which they lived and the adversaries they faced, they managed remarkably well. They did not, however, rely on rhetorical flourishes to drive the wild Pechenegs away or to repel an Arab *razzia*. It was their practical diplomatic and military skills that preserved the empire and their civilization. While always striving for peace, they knew they had to be prepared for war, and, when it came, they were determined to wage it as effectively as possible. For, just as the ancient Romans whose name they perpetuated, the Byzantines were an eminently practical people. Sure proof of this are their handbooks of diplomacy and tactics that have come down to us, unfortunately all too few.

The three treatises presented here reflect the practical concerns of soldiers entrusted with the tasks of going on campaign and defending the frontiers. The first, *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy*, seems to have been composed by a retired army engineer about the middle of the sixth century—a prosperous period and, in general, one of success on the battlefield. This booklet is more systematically organized and more theoretical than the others. The writer is familiar with the military authorities of antiquity and cites passages from their writings, yet he has obviously been in combat and knows from experience how to construct fortifications and siege machinery. His compilation is an interesting mix of theory and practice.

The second and third treatises were composed toward the end of the tenth century, also a period of prosperity and military successes. Both are brief and to the point, containing little of theory. The first of these, *Skirmishing*, deals with the details of border warfare in the mountains of eastern Anatolia and was written by a man with years of experience in such fighting.

The other, which I have titled *Campaign Organization and Tactics*, concentrates on the progress of an army with the emperor himself in command and its setting up camp in hostile territory, namely, in Bulgaria. Numbers, details, and precise measurements are provided by the author, who had obviously participated in such expeditions.

In reading the more formal literature of the Byzantines with its often stilted and artificial prose we can see the Byzantines themselves only darkly, in a glass, "a distorted mirror." These three treatises, however, written in a more down-to-earth language, introduce us to real people—the retired officer with his collection of books on strategy, the hardened veteran from the mountains far from the imperial capital, the efficient administrator who sees to every detail. They tell us of soldiers that are more interested in farming and of others that are harassed by tax collectors. While explaining about tactics and weaponry, these writings also provide valuable information about Byzantine life and institutions, especially in the provinces. Not only do they discuss the practical measures taken to defend the empire, but they give us an insight into what motivated the men that stood guard on its borders. These treatises, in short, help us understand how the Byzantine Empire and its citizens survived so long and, in doing that, kept so much of what is basic to our own civilization from perishing.

Each of the treatises is composed in a distinctive style and approaches its subject from a different perspective. Although each by itself is perhaps too short to fill a printed volume, the three comprise a characteristically Byzantine book on tactics, and they are found together in the same series of manuscripts. A list of abbreviations and one of signs follow this preface. Each treatise is then presented with its own introduction. The text and apparatus are accompanied by an English translation with a few notes.

In producing this book I was not alone. A scholar is never alone. I have been aided by many I have never met—Graux, Köchly, Rüstow, Vári, Kulakovskij, Hase, Dain, Spaulding, Higgins, Erck. In return, I can only hope that my own efforts may be of some help to those who come after. In the meantime let me express my gratitude to those whose assistance has been more immediate. My thanks go first to Irene Vaslef, librarian at Dumbarton Oaks, for first apprising me of Erck's work on the *Anonymous* and urging me to complete it. That it and the other treatises were completed and improved my thanks are due to Peter Topping, Alexander Kazhdan, John Duffy, and Frances Kianka. For consistent and prompt assistance I must also thank the staff at Dumbarton Oaks and at the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America. I would never have identified most of the locations in the second treatise without the kind help of Robert Edwards. My thanks

are also due to Michael Dechert for his generosity in taking time to draw most of the diagrams given below. I am grateful that much of my research was done at Dumbarton Oaks during the tenure of Giles Constable as its director. In uncounted ways he made it a place in which scholarship could truly prosper and move forward. We are all in his debt. Finally, to all my colleagues and confreres who have supported me in one way or another my thanks.

Washington, D.C.  
May 1984

George T. Dennis, S.J.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ahrweiler, *Etudes administratives*: H. Ahrweiler, *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance* (London, 1971)
- ByzF: *Byzantinische Forschungen*
- BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- Canard, *Hamdanides*: M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides* (Paris, 1953)
- CFHB: *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
- DAI Commentary: *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio. Commentary*, ed. R. Jenkins et al. (London, 1962)
- Dain, "Stratégistes": A. Dain, "Les stratégistes byzantins," *TM*, 2 (1967), 317–92
- De administrando imperio: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins (CFHB, 1; Washington, D.C., 1967)
- DOP: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- GRBS: *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
- Guilland, *Recherches*: R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1967)
- Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*: H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1978)
- Kekaumenos: *Soviety i Raskazy Kekavmena*, ed. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972)
- Leo, *Tactical Constitutions: Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, ed. R. Vári (Budapest, 1917–22); ed. J. Meursius and J. Lamy, PG, 107, 669–1120
- Leo the Deacon: *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828)
- Listes de préséance: Les listes de préséance byzantine des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. N. Oikonomidès (Paris, 1972)
- Maurice, *Strategikon*: *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G. Dennis (CFHB, 17; Vienna, 1981)
- PG: *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne
- RE: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new rev. ed. by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1893– )
- REB: *Revue des études byzantines*
- Schilbach, *Metrologie*: E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970)
- ST: *Studi e Testi*
- TM: *Travaux et Mémoires*
- VizVrem: *Vizantijskij Vremennik*

# LIST OF SIGNS

- A = *Codex Ambrosianus graecus 139 (B 119 sup.)*  
M = *Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus 55, 4*  
V = *Codex Vaticanus graecus 1164*  
S = *Codex Scorialensis graecus 281 (Y-III-11)*  
B = *Codex Barberinianus graecus II 97 (276)*  
P = *Codex Parisinus graecus 2522*

Erck = T. Erck, *Anonymi Byzantini Peri Strategikes* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1937)

K–R = H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, *Byzantini anonymi Peri strategikes*, in *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller* (Leipzig, 1855), 2, 2

Hase = C. B. Hase, *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem et liber de Velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti* (Bonn, 1828), 179–258

H = paginae editionis Hase

Graux = C. Graux, “*Traité de Tactique . . .*,” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 36 (1899), 71–127

Vári = R. Vári, *Incerti scriptoris Byzantini Liber de re militari* (Leipzig, 1901)

T = paginae editionis Vári

De = G. Dennis

⟨⟩ = suppleta ab editore

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# THE ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE TREATISE ON STRATEGY

## INTRODUCTION

Treatises on the science and art of waging war, on strategy and tactics, were being written in Greek since at least the fourth century before our era. Some were composed by experienced battlefield commanders, others by theoreticians, arm-chair generals. Their books were copied, excerpted, and adapted through late antiquity. Partly in this tradition and partly as something new, the sixth century produced its own corpus of military writings, beginning with the pompous phrases of Urbikios and concluding with the more practical instructions offered by Maurice.<sup>1</sup> About the middle of the century a book of modest proportions, professing to treat of the whole art of war, was published. It is here published again, accompanied by an English translation.

In the manuscript which preserves most of the text, *codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus* 55, 4 (= M), the initial page of the treatise is missing. As a result, we do not know the name of the author or the title he gave to his work. It was composed according to a logical plan, beginning with some general observations about the body politic and quickly arriving at the part the author thought most deserving of his attention, the military, or strategy. This provided the first editors of this treatise, H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, with a title for the work: *Peri strategikes, de re strategica*. In lieu of a name, they and subsequent scholars have had to refer to its author as an "Anonymous Byzantine."<sup>2</sup> Since Köchly and Rüstow published the work in 1855, along with an introduction and some notes, not much else has appeared about it in print.<sup>3</sup> In the 1930s, however, two Americans, one a doctoral

<sup>1</sup> See Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 323–40; Dain, "Stratégistes."

<sup>2</sup> "Des byzantiner Anonymus Kriegswissenschaft," in K–R.

<sup>3</sup> This is noted by A. Cameron, *Circus Factions; Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976), 80. The work is, of course, mentioned by Dain (p. 343) and Hunger (pp. 327–28). There is also some discussion of the treatise in M. Jähns, *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaft*, 1 (Munich–Leipzig, 1889), 146–51; F. Lammert, "Die älteste erhaltene Schrift über Seetaktik und ihre Be-

student in Classics and the other a colonel in the United States Army, independently devoted some time and energy to studying this treatise, the first preparing a new edition of the Greek text and the other an English translation. It seems that neither ever learned of the other's work.

Theodore H. Erck completed a critical edition of the work with an introduction as his doctoral dissertation under the direction of W. A. Oldfather at the University of Illinois in 1937. Entitled *Anonymi Byzantini Peri Strategikes* (hereafter, Erck), it exists only in typewritten form and totals ninety-one pages.<sup>4</sup>

Colonel, later General, Oliver Lyman Spaulding, Jr., began his study of the treatise while on active service with the field artillery in several western states, and completed it about 1935 while professor of military science at Harvard University. It too exists only in typescript, although it was intended, along with his translation of Maurice's *Strategikon*, for publication.<sup>5</sup> After a very brief introduction, he presents his English translation alongside the Köchly-Rüstow text in parallel columns. This is followed by seventeen pages of notes, making a total of 129 typed pages.

Both of these works, it must be clear, have greatly facilitated the preparation of the present edition and translation. Although he was dealing with a faulty Greek text, Spaulding generally seems to have had a good grasp of both the language and the material. His translation, however, is a very loose one and should be used with caution. But his rendering of certain words and phrases is excellent, and some of it has been adopted in this translation.

For reasons to be given below, the Greek text presented by Erck is also excellent, and is certainly a vast improvement over the one put together by Köchly and Rüstow (hereafter, K-R). Although Erck's typed text is not without a few errors and omissions, it is basically the same as the text presented below. Points of disagreement are indicated in the apparatus.

### Composition of the Treatise

In their introduction Köchly and Rüstow established that the treatise was composed during the sixth century, more precisely and "with the fullest certainty," in

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ziehungen zum Anonymus Byzantinus des 6. Jahrhunderts," *Klio*, 33 (1941), 277-88; N. V. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantija i Iran na rubeže VI i VII vv.* (Moscow, 1946), 114-33; A. Pertusi, "Ordinamenti militari, guerre in Occidente e teoria di guerra dei bizantini (secc. vi-x)," *Settimane di Studi sull' alto medioevo*, 15 (Spoleto, 1968), 630-700. The most recent and detailed study is by V. Kučma, "Vizantijskij Anonim VI v.: osnovnye problemy istočnikov i soderžanija," *VizVrem*, 41 (1980), 68-91.

<sup>4</sup>Dr. Erck subsequently taught at Vassar College and was president of Hood College in 1971-72 before retiring.

<sup>5</sup>On Col. Spaulding, who died in 1947, see G. Dennis, ed., *Das Strategikon des Maurikios* (CFHB, 17; Vienna, 1981), 25-27. Both of his translations were found among the papers of the late Rev. Martin Higgins, and are now in the archives of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. Spaulding also published an article, "The Ancient Military Writers," *Classical Journal*, 28 (1932-33), 657-69.



the reign of Justinian (527–65), and probably during the latter part of his reign (K–R, 37). This conclusion, which has been generally accepted by scholars, is based on internal evidence. Archery, for example, plays a prominent role in the work. Then, there is “our emperor,” who has been stirring up his enemies against one another, which could easily refer to Justinian (6, 14–15; references are to chapter and line of the present edition). The comments about the celebration of a triumph (3, 90–91) may well have to do with that of Belisarius in 534, although several other triumphs were held in that period.<sup>6</sup> The description of what Belisarius himself was accustomed to do, that is, ravaging the countryside before a more powerful enemy (33, 30), sounds as though the writer was recalling recent events he had witnessed or heard about. Whether the verb in the sentence was originally in the present or the imperfect tense does not substantially alter the meaning.

Opinions have varied slightly about the author, whose name, of course, is not known. A. Dain, while conceding some originality and contact with the realities of military life, places him among the theoreticians, “stratèges en chambre.”<sup>7</sup> V. Kučma thinks that the author was a military engineer and praises the originality of his plan and his success in carrying it out. While admitting that some elements have been borrowed, he considers the treatise to be unique in Greco-Roman-Byzantine military literature. It is a good mix of abstract theories and practical recommendations. The treatise is, in his view, “a work of very high quality, composed by a contemporary of Justinian, a Byzantine of the middle level, socially, intellectually, and professionally.”<sup>8</sup> Presumably he was also a Christian, but, apart from one mention of the Apostles (3, 11), there is nothing specifically Christian in his writing. Spaulding (p. 2) believes he may have been a staff officer, perhaps an engineer. “On fortification and field engineering he is sound and practical. He speaks with confidence and authority, as one who has seen war, but not quite in the tone of a commander of troops.” Erck finds the sections on tactics more theoretical and derived from classical writers. But he admits that the author must have had some practical military experience, such as crossing streams under fire and pitching camp. Most probably, according to Erck (pp. 3–4), he was “a veteran army man who in his later years turned to writing.”

His book appears to have been intended for the ordinary, educated citizen, and, while abounding in definitions and military terminology, much of it probably obsolete, it is composed in uncomplicated and matter-of-fact language. In his dissertation Erck succinctly describes the work (p. 4). “His treatise is a well planned, completely thought out piece of work. He made a detailed outline of the topics to be discussed and treated each in its proper place, carefully introducing each separate

<sup>6</sup>See Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum*, 2, 9; also S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1981); M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1985), 64–68.

<sup>7</sup>Dain, “Stratèges,” 343.

<sup>8</sup>“Vizantijskij Anonim,” 73–74, 89–90.

part to show its relation to the whole, and recapitulating at its close. The whole he prefaced with an elaborate introduction which defines statecraft as a whole and neatly, if artificially, classifies all of the elements of the state, and then passes from the general to that particular branch of statecraft which seems most important to him, namely *strategike*."

The treatise is divided into two parts (5, 1–5): defensive strategy and offensive strategy. Under the first heading Chapter 6 enumerates six topics to be discussed. The first three are treated in Chapters 7 to 13, while the last three appear to be missing. Chapter 14 begins, as Erck notes, without the author's usual summary and transition. In it he treats of tactics, which would belong to the second part, offensive strategy. Perhaps some sections have been lost from the text. The treatise moves along in an orderly fashion to Chapter 32. From this chapter to the end the transition passages are missing, and the treatment is unexpectedly brief. Köchly–Rüstow suggest, rightly, in Erck's view, that these chapters represent an epitome and were not part of the original text. The final chapters (44–47) on archery seem out of place, and there is no proper ending to the whole work.<sup>9</sup>

### The Manuscripts

Why did Erck believe that a new edition of the treatise was necessary? "A comparison of the Köchly–Rüstow text with the manuscript from which it was made showed that these scholars had been almost unbelievably careless in their examination of the manuscript, and that they had misread it in literally several hundred places" (p. 5). The present editor found slightly less than two hundred such misreadings of the manuscript by K–R, but Erck's basic charge is certainly valid.

The manuscript on which Köchly and Rüstow based their text was the *codex Parisinus graecus* 2522 (= P), a fifteenth-century copy of the Laurentian manuscript (M), to be discussed below. Even if the two scholars had been more conscientious in reading and transcribing the Parisian manuscript, their edition would still be a poor one, for it would not have utilized the earlier and better manuscripts.

A. Dain, in studying the history of the text of Aelian the Tactician, showed clearly that there were three principal manuscript traditions, the "authentic," the "interpolated," and the one on which the writings of Leo VI were based.<sup>10</sup> Subsequent research on the textual history of the *Strategikon* of Maurice confirmed Dain's analysis.<sup>11</sup> The main corpus (or corpora) of classical and Byzantine military writings is found, with a few exceptions, in the same series of manuscripts. The Anony-

<sup>9</sup>Much of this material came to form part of the *Apparatus bellicus* of Julius Africanus: Dain, "Stratégistes," 335–36, 359–61; R. Vieillefond, *Jules Africain, Fragments des Cestes provenant de la collection des tacticiens grecs* (Paris, 1932). The chapters on archery have been edited and translated by O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, "Spätantike Anleitung zum Bogenschiessen," *Wiener Studien*, 59 (1941), 110–24; 60 (1942), 43–70.

<sup>10</sup>*Histoire du texte d'Elie le tacticien* (Paris, 1946).

<sup>11</sup>Dennis, *Strategikon*, 28–41.

mous fits into the same general pattern as Aelian, Maurice, and other such writings, with some important differences.

The first, "authentic," tradition is represented by the *codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus 55, 4* (= M; L in Erck's nomenclature). It is the most important and complete collection of Greek strategists, copied under the direction of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus sometime before 959, and has been the subject of several detailed studies.<sup>12</sup> The Anonymous is found on fols. 104–130<sup>v</sup>. The title page, as noted, including the author's introductory remarks, and the last chapter are missing. The recapitulation at the beginning of Chapter 4 makes it clear that the missing part of the first chapter defined *politeia* or *politike* and started to list its components, and was probably not very long. The text, written in a clear minuscule, is otherwise in good condition.

The second tradition, "interpolated," in Dain's terminology, was, in tracing the textual history of Maurice's *Strategikon*, represented by three very closely related manuscripts, designated in the edition as VNP.<sup>13</sup> The first, *codex Vaticanus graecus 1164* (= V), a clearly written book which can be dated to around the year 1020, has been severely mutilated. Only three folios of the Anonymous remain: 173–173<sup>v</sup>, 175<sup>v</sup>–176<sup>v</sup>.

In editing the *Strategikon*, N stood for the *codex Neapolitanus graecus 284* (III-C-26). Originally this formed part of one parchment book with the *codex Scorialensis graecus 281* (Y-III-II) (= S). This manuscript in the Escorial consists of 308 folios with works of ancient and Byzantine tacticians. The incomplete text of the Anonymous is found on fols. 101<sup>v</sup>–111<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript can probably best be dated to the third or fourth decade of the eleventh century, and is almost certainly a copy of V.

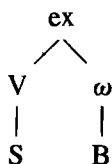
The third manuscript in the family (*Parisinus graecus 2442*, = P) can be traced to the same scriptorium, that of Ephrem in Constantinople, at about the same time as V. It too is only part of what had been one large manuscript together with the *codex Barberinianus graecus II 97* (276) (= B). It is in the latter that the incomplete text of the Anonymous is found on fols. 81<sup>v</sup>–91<sup>v</sup>.

The VSB text for much of the Anonymous, Chapters 7 to 16, does not represent the original text, but is a summary or paraphrase. From Chapters 33 to 47 the full text, at least in SB, is given. These three manuscripts, VSB, clearly derive from a common exemplar. S is, as mentioned, a copy of V. B contains far more errors than the other two, so that it is reasonable to postulate one or more copies ( $\omega$ ) between it and the exemplar. As in the case of Maurice's *Strategikon*, the relationship between these manuscripts can be sketched as follows.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup>See Dain, "Stratégistes," 382–85; Dennis, *Strategikon*, 19–20.

<sup>13</sup>Dain, "Stratégistes," 386–88; Dennis, *Strategikon*, 20–21; on the scriptorium and the dating see J. Irigoien, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins," *Scriptorium*, 12 (1958), 208–27; 13 (1959), 177–209.

<sup>14</sup>Dennis, *Strategikon*, 33–36.



The third recension found by Dain, the one used by Leo VI which, designated as  $\lambda$ , was important in reconstituting the text of Maurice, has not preserved the Anonymous.<sup>15</sup>

In preparing the text of the *Strategikon*, it was noted that one other manuscript was of some importance, although it did not fit clearly into the tradition. This was the *codex Ambrosianus graecus B 119 sup. (139)* (= A), which contains a number of military treatises and was written about the year 959.<sup>16</sup> In several instances the readings and diagrams found in this manuscript were more accurate than those in any of the others. Yet it was essentially a paraphrase of the *Strategikon* in tenth-century Greek. It also contains paraphrases of other authors which appear in M. But it does not do so for the Anonymous. Rather, A presents the same version of the text as M, and not a paraphrase. Although A has been gravely mutilated, enough remains (fols. 8–21<sup>v</sup>) to prove, as Erck has done (pp. 10–14), that A and M are closely related. Each has passages omitted in the other, and it is clear that neither was copied from the other. Erck believes that “A represents merely a less corrupt tradition of the text than L [M].” After drawing up a list of differences between the two, he shows that in more than two-thirds of the cases A has the better reading. He concludes that they are two branches of the same tradition, with M containing a larger number of scribal errors and A generally being a better copy of the text. Probably A and M were copied from the same manuscript, or at least collateral ones.<sup>17</sup> Erck thinks that the marginal comment on Hannibal in M (18, 48), which he finds flippant and not in the author’s style, must be an interpolation, and he postulates at least one manuscript between M and the point of departure from the common tradition with A. There are no clear errors stemming from the misreading of uncial script, so that their common parent (or grandparent) must have been written in minuscule.

Later copies need not detain us. The *Paris. gr. 2522 (P)*, on which the K–R text was based, is a fairly exact copy of M. Also copied from M are *Vossianus gr. 34* of the sixteenth century and *Barberin. gr. 59* of the seventeenth. There are a few sixteenth-century copies of A: *Ambrosian. gr. C 265 inf. (905)*, *Marcian. gr. XI 30e (coll. 976, 1)*, and Chapters 31–32 copied in the *cod. Sinaiticus gr. 1889* and at-

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 36–39.

<sup>16</sup>C. M. Mazzucchi, “Dagli anni di Basilio Parakimomenos (cod. Ambr. B 119 sup.),” *Aevum*, 52 (1978), 267–316.

<sup>17</sup>In my edition of the *Strategikon*, 39–41, I thought that such was the case, but did not have the more convincing arguments which Erck has produced.

tributed to Emperor Maurice. The many copies of VSB have been listed by R. Vieillefond.<sup>18</sup>

### The Present Edition

For the reasons given above, the present text is based on A; for the sections missing in A, it is based on M, and for the last chapter, which is not in M, on S. Sometimes the differences between A and M are insignificant, and one cannot be preferred to the other. In such cases this edition has not followed a consistent pattern. Alternate readings, in any event, are given in the apparatus.

The numbering of the chapters is taken from M or supplied by the editor. They are numbered incorrectly in A, and not at all in VSB or in P (it did not seem necessary to note this in the apparatus each time). Some chapter titles and other phrases, missing in the manuscripts, have been supplied from the body of the text or elsewhere by one of the editors, past or present. While Erck's criticism of K–R is justified, some of their readings and emendations are good and have been retained. Their errors are generally not listed, as they would unduly clutter the apparatus.

<sup>18</sup> *Jules Africain, Fragments des Cestes*, xliii–xlvi.

# TEXT and TRANSLATION

⟨Περὶ Στρατηγίας.

α'.

Τί ἐστὶν πολιτεία καὶ πόσα μέρη αὐτῆς.⟩

M f. 104

... γραμματικοί, ῥήτορες, ἰατροί, γεωργοί, καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι.

- 5 Τὴν δέ γε ἱερατικὴν δόξειε μὲν ἂν τις ἴσως τέχνην εἶναι, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμην, ἐπειδὴ θεῖόν τι χρῆμά ἐστι καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσεων ὑψηλότερον, εἰ μὴ τις ἀπλῶς ἐπιστήμην τὴν γνῶσιν καλεῖ. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν νομικὴν, ὅτι μὴ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχει, νῦν μὲν οὕτως περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, νῦν δὲ ἑτέρως, πρὸς τὰς διαθέσεις τῶν  
10 νομοθετουμένων προσώπων, ἀποφαινομένων τῶν νόμων.

- Ἐμπορικὸν δέ, οἶον σιτοπῶλαι, οἶνοπῶλαι, κρεοπῶλαι. ὑλικὸν δέ, τὸ ἐκάστου εἶδους παρεκτικόν, οἶον σιδηροτελεῖς, χαλκοτελεῖς. ὑπηρετικὸν δέ, τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν τοῖς γινομένοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν, οἶον ξυλοφόροι, λιθοφόροι. ἄχρηστον δέ, τὸ μηδοτιοῦν  
15 συντελεῖν δυνάμενον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρεῖαν, οἶον ἀσθενεῖς, γέροντες, παῖδες.

- Καὶ πολιτείας μὲν μέρη τοσαῦτα. εἴποι δ' ἂν τις καὶ μέρος πολιτείας, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνεργεῖν ἴσως ἀργὸν ὀνομάσει, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ ἡμῖν ἀρμόσει μέρος πολιτείας τοιοῦτον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ  
20 τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος οὐκ ἔνι μέρος εὐρεῖν πάσης χρεῖας ἀπηλλαγμένον, οὕτω καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης οὐκ ἂν δύο μέρος εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ὃ δύναται μὲν συντελεῖν ἐπὶ λυσιτελείᾳ τῆς πολιτείας, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ δέ, ἀλλὰ πάντως καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' ἓν τι τῶν εἰρημένων τετάσσεται, ἵνα μὴ ἀργεῖν δυνάμενον πρὸς ἀκολασίαν καὶ κλοπὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κα-  
25 κίαν ἀποκλίνει.

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MP 1: K-R 42, Erck 22.

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1: 1-3 περὶ . . . αὐτῆς De: inc. mut. codd. || 4 ἰατροί M: om. P || 19 τοιοῦτον De: τοσοῦτον MP

## [STRATEGY.

### 1.

#### Statecraft and Its Divisions.]

. . . writers, public speakers, physicians, farmers, and those in like professions.

Priestly service might also be classed as a profession, but I do not think it should be, nor should it be listed as a science, unless the simple possession of special knowledge qualifies as a science. It is, after all, something sacred and far above our natural capabilities. Neither should the legal profession be called a science. It does not always deal with cases in the same manner, but handles the same subject now in one way, now in another. Application of the law varies according to the circumstances of the persons who are covered by the law.

Next comes the mercantile class, which includes dealers in grain, in wine, in meat. There are those who provide products fashioned of various materials, such as iron and copper. Then come those who hire out their services to the directors of public works, the bearers of lumber and stone. Finally, there is the unproductive class which is unable to contribute anything at all to the needs of the community; this would include the infirm, the elderly, and children.

These, then, are the various classes of citizens. Someone might want to add another group, which I suppose could be called the leisure class, since it is not engaged in any activity. But I am reluctant to admit such a class of citizens. Just as in the human body you cannot find a part which has absolutely no function, so in a well-ordered commonwealth there should be no group of citizens which, although able to contribute to the public welfare, in fact does nothing. But every individual should by all means take his place in one of the classes enumerated above. Otherwise, idleness may lead him into licentiousness, thievery, and other forms of wickedness.



## β'.

(Τίνων χάριν ἐπενοήθησαν τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μέρη.)

Ἐπενοήθη δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερατικὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείαν, τῆς  
πρώτης γενικωτάτης ἀρχῆς, παρ' οὗ καὶ δι' οὗ πάντα γέγονε καὶ οἰκο-  
5 νομεῖται, οἷς μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐπίσταται τρόποις τῆς ἀγαθότητος.

Τὸ δὲ νομικὸν διὰ τὸ δίκαιον, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὰς στάσεις. στά-  
σις δὲ ἐστὶ πλήθους ὁμοφύλων κατὰ γνώμην διάστασις μικραῖς ἀφορ-  
μαῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μέχρι φόνων ὀδεύουσα. τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων κατ' ἀρχὰς  
ἀνθέλκοντες ἄνθρωποι, εἶτα πρὸς τὴν βλάβην τῶν γειτόνων ἐμμέ-  
10 νοντες, πρὸς στάσιν ἐμφύλιον καὶ μάχην θανατηφόρον διηγωνίζοντο.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελὴ τοῦ γένους ἀναίρεσιν ἡπείλει τὸ πρᾶγμα, διὰ ταῦτα  
ἐπενοήθησαν νόμοι καὶ δικασταί, ἵν' ὑπὸ τούτων τὰ πλήθη κρινόμενα  
αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην ἄγοιεν.

Τὸ δὲ σύμβουλευτικὸν διὰ τὸ συμφέρον. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλειόνων  
15 ἀνερעυνώμενον ἐτοιμότερον εἰς κατάληψιν. ἠϋξήθη δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον  
διὰ τοὺς πολέμους, οὓς συμφωνίαι καὶ γνώμαι γεννώσι πολλῶν, κα-  
M f. 104' τωρ | θούσι δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Τὸ δὲ χρηματικὸν ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε καὶ ἄλλων ἔνεκεν κοινωφελῶν  
πραγμάτων ἐπιενεόηται, οἷον ναυπηγίας, τειχοποιίας, μάλιστα δὲ  
20 διὰ τὰ ἀναλώματα τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τῶν γὰρ κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων  
εἰσόδων ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλεῖστα καταναλίσκεται.

Τὸ δὲ τεχνικὸν διὰ τὸ ῥᾶον καὶ ὡς ἂν δέοι γίγνεσθαι τὰ γινόμενα  
καὶ διαρκεῖν τῷ χρόνῳ. τὸ γὰρ τέχνη τελοῦμενον οὐ μόνον ῥαδίως,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς γίνεται.

25 Τὸ δὲ ἐμπορικὸν διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν. οὐ γὰρ πάντες πάντα ἔχουσι.  
δι' ὧν δὲ ἕκαστος εὐπορεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας τὸ λείπον ἀναπληροῖ τῆς  
χρεῖας.

Τὸ δὲ ὑλικὸν ἥτοι τὸ εἶδους παρεκτικόν, ἵνα μὴ τῆς χρεῖας κα-  
λούσης ἐπιλίπη τὰ πράγματα. πολλάκις γὰρ χρημάτων μὲν εὐποροῦ-  
30 μεν, τῶν εἰς χρεῖαν δὲ πραγμάτων ἀπολειπόμεθα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ  
μὲν σίδηρον, οἱ δὲ νάφθαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ  
ἢ ἀργύρου ἡμῖν προσπορίζουσιν.

Τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετικὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν κελενομένων ὑπηρεσίαν τε καὶ  
συμπλήρωσιν. τὸ δὲ ἄχρηστον προβέβληται μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς φύσεως  
35 καὶ τῆς τύχης, θεραπεύεται δὲ παρὰ τῆς κεχρεωστημένης φιλανθρώ-  
που γνώμης, ἥ καὶ αὕτη δῶρόν ἐστι φύσεως καὶ Θεοῦ πρότερον.

## 2.

## [The Reasons for the Various Classes in the State.]

Holy orders have been established for the worship of God, the first and universal cause, by whom and through whom all things came into being and are governed in the ways of goodness known to him alone.

Legal institutions are established to bring about justice, especially in the case of disputes. A dispute is a difference of opinion among a number of fellow citizens, and from small beginnings may often lead to loss of life. Men will begin by contending about one another's property, then find themselves causing injury to their neighbors, and soon become involved in civil strife, fighting, and killing. Since such a situation threatens the very survival of our people, laws and judges have been established to pronounce judgment in such cases and to aid people in living together in peace.

Deliberative assemblies serve a good purpose. What has been thought through by a number of people is more likely to be carried out successfully. They are particularly needed in time of war, which is declared by the consensus of many minds but can be conducted effectively only by selected leaders.

The financial system was set up to take care of matters of public importance that arise on occasion, such as the building of ships and of walls. But it is principally concerned with paying the soldiers. Each year most of the public revenues are spent for this purpose.

Technicians make sure that projects will be carried out with a minimum of effort, in the proper manner, and with due regard for durability. Work done in a professional manner will be more easily completed and prove more solid.

Commerce provides for necessities. No one has everything he needs. But commercial activity enables each person to provide himself with the things he lacks.

Wholesalers provide us with materials, so that projects do not have to be abandoned because of a shortage of material. Often enough we may have plenty of money, but may be without any of the goods we need. Various people, then, furnish us with iron, naphtha, or whatever we need in exchange for gold or silver.

The serving class is to perform the services that they are ordered to do. The unproductive class comes into being both by nature and by accident. Its members are justly entitled to protection out of humanitarian feelings, which are themselves a gift of nature and, even more so, of God.

γ'.

〈Περὶ ἀρχόντων.〉

Τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πολιτεία καὶ πόσα μέρη ταύτης τυγχάνει καὶ  
 τίνων χάριν ἐπενοήθησαν, εἴρηται διὰ τῶν φθασάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη  
 5 ἐκάστω τῶν εἰρημένων μερῶν ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι τετάχθαι, ἀναγκαῖον  
 περὶ ἀρχόντων εἰπεῖν πρότερον, ὁποίους αὐτοὺς εἶναι χρή καθόλου τε  
 καὶ κατ' εἶδος, καὶ τίνων κεφαλαίων δεῖ φροντίζειν, καὶ ὁποίους εἶναι  
 χρή τοὺς ὑπηρετουμένους αὐτοῖς.

Περὶ γὰρ ἱερέων ὁποίους καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι χρή, ὅτι δεῖ ἐμπείρους  
 10 εἶναι νόμων Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ἥθη χρηστούς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετουμένους  
 αὐτοῖς ὅτι χρή καὶ αὐτοὺς καθαρούς εἶναι καὶ πράοτητι μετ' εὐκοσμίας  
 μετερχομένους αὐτοὺς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἱερέων ἐγκελευό-  
 μενα, οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἀποστολῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους βεβιωκότων.

Ἄπαντας δὲ ἀρχοντας εἶναι δέον φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, ἀγαθοὺς  
 15 τὸν τρόπον, ἐμπείρους τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων, θυμοῦ δὲ  
 μάλιστα καὶ χειρὸς ὁμοίως κρατοῦντας, καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἑαυτῶν ἢ  
 τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα φροντίζοντας.

Τοὺς δὲ συμβούλους εἶναι χρή γονίμους τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ  
 διακριτικούς τοῦ συμφέροντος, φίλους τὰ κοινά, ἐμπείρους τὰ πο-  
 20 λιτικά, μνήμονας τῶν τελουμένων, ἐνδείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἴσως ἀπέχον-  
 τας. τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν | τοῦ σώματος, ἵν' ὑπηρετῶσι καὶ διαρκῶσι  
 M f. 105 τοῖς λογισμοῖς δαπανώμενοι, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸν κόρον, κόρος γὰρ πολέμιος  
 λογισμῶν. καὶ μήτε ὕπνῳ μακρῶ καταφέρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ “οὐ χρή  
 παννύχιον καθεύδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα,” μήτ' ἄλλαις φροντίσι  
 25 συνεχόμενους καταδαπανᾶν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λογισμοῖς δύναμιν. εἶναι δὲ  
 τὴν ἡλικίαν γηραιούς, “βουλή γὰρ καὶ μῦθος τὸ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων,”  
 ἢ καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ὀρώντας διὰ τὰς ἐπιπονωτέρας κινήσεις τοῦ σώμα-  
 τος, καὶ μήτε διὰ συγγένειαν ἢ χρήματα ἢ ἔχθραν τινὸς ἢ φιλίαν βου-  
 λεύεσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἔνεκα τοῦ τῇ πολιτείᾳ συμφέροντος.

30 Τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς κριτικούς τὴν φύσιν—πολλοὶ  
 γὰρ ἐνθυμημάτων μὲν εὐποροῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ κρείτ-  
 τονος ἀμαρτάνουσιν—ἐπιστήμονας δὲ οὐ μόνον τῶν νόμων περὶ οὓς  
 καταγίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα συντελοῦσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
 νόμων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ χειρὸς μὲν καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἡδονῆς ὁμοίως κρα-  
 35 τοῦντας, καὶ μήτε φόβῳ καταπτήσσειν μήτε φιλίᾳ χαρίζεσθαι μήτε  
 ἔχθρᾳ νικᾶσθαι μήτε χρήμασι δελεάζεσθαι, καὶ ἔτι φοβεροὺς μὲν  
 τοῖς καταφρονηταῖς, προσηνεῖς δὲ τοῖς εὐπειθέσιν.

Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὰ χρήματα τεταγμένων χρή τοὺς μὲν τιθέντας τοὺς  
 φόρους δικαίους εἶναι τὸν τρόπον, μετρικῆς δὲ μάλιστα καὶ γεωπο-  
 40 νικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ λογιστικῆς μετέχειν. αἱ γὰρ θέσεις τῶν δημοσίων  
 τελεσμάτων γίνονται μὲν κατὰ ποσὸν τῆς γῆς, ἀναλόγως δὲ καὶ κατὰ

## 3.

[Officials.]

The preceding chapters have explained the nature of the state and enumerated the classes of citizens and the reasons for their existence. But, since each of these classes must be organized under a leader, we have to say something about such officials. First of all, what should be their qualifications, in general and in particular? What should be their principal concerns? What sort of assistants might they require?

As far as the qualifications expected of the priests are concerned, it is clear that they ought to be experienced in the laws of God and be of excellent character. Their assistants must also be pure and should carry out the duties imposed on them by the bishops and priests in a meek and dignified manner. Such matters, however, lie outside our competence and belong rather to the Apostles and those who observe their way of life.

All persons in authority should possess natural intelligence, be upright in their way of life, experienced in the matters committed to them, in control of their actions and especially of their emotions, and not be more concerned about themselves than about their subjects.

The counselors should be noted for their ability to think clearly and to form judgments about what is advantageous. They should be devoted to the common good, experienced in statecraft, and familiar with precedent. They should be removed alike from want and from luxury. Want would affect their bodily strength, and so they should receive enough provisions to enable them to carry out their mental labors. Luxury, on the other hand, leads to satiety, which is the enemy of reasoning. They should not indulge themselves in too much sleep. "A man who is to give counsel ought not sleep the whole night through."<sup>1</sup> The energy needed for their deliberations should not be dissipated on other concerns. They should be of mature age. "Counsel and speaking in public are the prerogatives of age."<sup>2</sup> But they should not be too advanced in years because of the strenuous physical activity required of them. Their counsel should not be influenced by family ties, money, or any enmity or friendship, but only by the best interests of the state.

Judges must possess a good judicial temperament. Many men are full of good ideas but are incapable of deciding which one is best. Judges should know not only the laws, with which they are directly concerned, but also the other factors which may have some bearing upon the explanation of the laws. They should have control over their actions, their emotions, and their pleasures. They must not be terrified by fear. Friendship must not make them lenient, nor should enmity make them overbearing. Money should not make them waver. They ought to be stern with those who condemn the laws and gentle with those who observe them.

Coming now to the officials assigned to financial matters, those who assess the taxes must be just in the way they go about it; they should have some knowledge of surveying, of agricultural methods, and of accounting. For the amounts assessed for tax purposes are based upon the area of land, and upon its quality as well, and its

τὴν ποιότητα αὐτῆς ὅπως ἔχη πρὸς εὐφορίαν καρπῶν ἢ γένεσιν με-  
τάλλων. ὁρᾶν δὲ δεῖ καὶ κράσεις ἀέρων καὶ τόπων, πόλεων τε καὶ πο-  
ταμῶν ναυσιπόρων καὶ θαλάσσης γειτνιάσιν καὶ πηγῶν ἀενάων  
45 χορηγίαν, ὅση τε ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς καὶ ὅση διὰ βάθους, ὥστε ταῦτα πάντα  
βλέποντας τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα τεταγμένους τοὺς φόρους τίθεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ φορολόγους χρηστοὺς μὲν τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν το-  
σοῦτον εὐπόρους εἶναι, ὥστε, εἴ ποτε συμβαίῃ κακῶς αὐτοὺς δι-  
ωκέναι τὸν κανόνα, μὴ ἀπορεῖν οἰκοθεν καταβαλεῖν τῷ δημοσίῳ τὸ  
50 ἱκανόν. εἰ δὲ ὑπολήψεως μὲν εἰσιν ἀγαθῆς, χρημάτων δὲ ἀποροῦσι,  
μὴ ἂν ἄλλως αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι ἢ τῶν μαρτυρούντων αὐτοῖς εὐπόρων  
καθεστηκότων καὶ οἰκειουμένων τὴν τοῦ κανόνος ποσότητα. εἶναι δὲ  
αὐτοὺς ἐμπείρους χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς  
χαρακτήρων, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς εὐπόρους θερμότερους εἶναι πρὸς τὴν  
M f. 105<sup>v</sup> 55 ἀπαίτησιν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους | μετὰ τῆς ἐγχωρούσης αὐτοῖς  
ἀνοχῆς προσφέρεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους ἐπισκεπτομένους τὰς τε ἀλόγους  
αὐξήσεις καὶ ἀποκοπὰς καὶ μεταθέσεις τῶν δημοσίων φόρων καὶ  
προσέτι τοὺς τε ἀδεσπότους ἀγροῦς, ὧν ἐκλείπει τὰ τελέσματα, καὶ  
60 τὰς ὑποστάσεις τῶν μετερχομένων αὐτοὺς, μάλιστα μὲν ἀληθείας  
ἐρᾶν καὶ ταύτη σεμνύνεσθαι καὶ διὰ ταύτην τιμᾶσθαι ἐλπίζοντας,  
ἐξεταστικούς δὲ εἶναι καὶ διερευνητικούς πραγμάτων καὶ οἰκονόμους  
ἀγαθοὺς, ὥς μήτε τὸ δημόσιον λυπεῖν, μήτε τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν ἀγρῶν  
ἀδικεῖν.

Τοὺς δὲ διανέμοντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπεριέργους εἶναι καὶ ἀπλοῦς  
τὸν τρόπον, μάλιστα δὲ πιστοὺς, ἐκ τῆς κατ' ὀλίγον δοκιμασίας  
μαρτυρηθέντας τὴν πίστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸ τῶν ὀλίγων ἐγχει-  
ρισθέντας, τοὺς δὲ λόγους τῆς διανομῆς μὴ διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου ποιεῖν,  
ἀλλὰ διὰ βραχείος, ὥστε τὴν μνήμην τῶν κελευσθέντων καλῶς  
70 διασώζεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας ἀπησχολημένους φύ-  
σεως εὐ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον. δυνατόν γάρ τὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ  
μαθήματι οἰκείως ἔχοντα ἄλλοτρίως ἔχειν ἐν ἄλλῳ, διὸ καὶ Πυθαγό-  
ραν φασὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν μαθητῶν διερευνῶμενον τάττειν αὐτοῖς τὰ  
75 μαθήματα.

Τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἐμπορίας ἐφόρους δικαίους τε εἶναι τὸν τρόπον καὶ  
δι' ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους, ὥς μήτε τοὺς πράτας κατασοφίζε-  
σθαι τῶν ἀγοραστῶν ἐπιμιξία τοῦ χειρόνος, μήτε τὴν ἀμετρίαν τοῦ  
κέρδους συγχωρεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐδωδύμων, ἐνθα καὶ κολά-  
80 ζειν προσήκει τοὺς πρὸς ἀμετρίαν ἐκκλίνοντας.

Τοὺς δὲ τὴν ὕλην παρεχομένους εὐπόρους εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμονας  
τῶν τελουμένων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς ἀλλ' οὐ πόρρωθεν ταύτας συλ-  
λέγοντας, καὶ ταύτας παρέχειν κακίας πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένας. πολ-  
λοὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ταῖς ὕλαις ὕλας παραμινύντες, οἱ δὲ παρὰ καιρὸν

productivity in crops or resources in metal. They must be able to estimate the effects of climate and topography, the proximity of cities, of navigable rivers, and of the sea. They should find out about the permanent supply of water from surface sources or underground wells. In assessing the taxes, then, the financial officials should examine all of those factors.

The officials who collect the taxes, now, should be of the highest repute. Their financial means should be such that, if it should happen that their management of the assessment gives poor results, they may be able to make good the amount due the treasury from their own resources. Men who enjoy a good reputation but who lack financial means should not be accepted for such a position unless some wealthier citizens present themselves as surety for them with guarantees for the amount of the levy. They should have experience in dealing with gold and silver and know the inscriptions on the coinage. They should be forceful enough in making demands on the well-to-do, but should deal with the less prosperous with all possible forbearance.

Inspectors are called upon at certain times to consider unforeseen increases, reductions, and other changes in the public revenues. They are also to look into unclaimed land, on which taxes are no longer paid, as well as into the financial resources of applicants for those lands. They must be genuine lovers of truth, be respected for this, and place their hopes of being honored in the truth. They shall be skillful in investigating and interpreting facts and be good administrators, so that the public treasury will not suffer and no injustice will be done to the landowners.

The officials who distribute the funds should be straightforward and unpretentious in manner. Above all they should be trustworthy, and this should be proven by testing them in small matters before entrusting them with major responsibilities. The accounts of their distribution should be audited at frequent intervals, not constantly postponed, so they may always keep in mind what they are supposed to be doing.

Those who devote themselves to the sciences and the arts should possess the natural qualifications for their specialties. A person proficient in one branch of learning may have no aptitude for another. For this reason, it is said, Pythagoras used to examine the natural abilities of his students before assigning them their subjects.<sup>3</sup>

The supervisors of trade must have a good sense of justice and be familiar with general business operations. They should not allow the salesmen to defraud their customers by mixing in goods of poorer quality or to make an inordinate profit. This is particularly true in the sale of foodstuffs, and anyone charging excessive prices should be punished.

Those who provide materials should be resourceful and should thoroughly understand their work. They should procure the material close to home, not from a great distance. They should furnish products without flaws. Many wholesalers are guilty of mixing their goods. Some collect them at the wrong season, and they be-

85 ταύτας συλλέγοντες, ἀχρήστους αὐτὰς καθιστᾶσιν. οὔτε γὰρ κομῶντα φυτὰ πρὸς δενδροτομίαν τῷ τέκτονι χρήσιμα, οὔτε βάλαμον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ἐλαίῳ παραφθειρόμενον.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀχρήστους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεπιτηδεῖους πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν ἰδίαν τε καὶ κοινωφελῇ εἴτε διὰ γῆρας ἢ λώβην σώματος ἢ  
90 παραφροσύνην ἢ ἀτέλειαν, καὶ τούτων τοὺς ἐπιστατούντας εἶναι μάλιστα φιланθρωπούς, εὐπόρους, ἐπεικεῖς, κοινωνικούς, καὶ τὰ  
M f. 106 πάθη ἴδια ποιουμένους | ὧν ἔχουσι τὴν φροντίδα, καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν λογιζομένους.

Τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρέτας τῶν εἰρημένων ἀρχόντων εἶναι μήτε γέρον-  
95 τας, εἰ μὴ τις διὰ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν πράγματος ὑπηρετοίῃ τῷ ἄρχοντι, μὴτ' ἄγαν νέους. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἥθη χρηστοὺς, ὥστε φρονίμως καὶ ἱκανῶς ἔχειν μετ' εὐκοσμίας πρὸς τὴν τῶν κελευομένων συντέλειαν. τοὺς δὲ γε λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ὑπηρέτας νέους εἶναι, οἷον ξυλοφόρους, ἀχθοφόρους, ὥστε δυνατῶς ἔχειν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὴν  
100 τῶν κελευομένων ὑπηρεσίαν.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τι ἕτερον τούτοις προστιθέασι πολιτείας μέρος, ὃ δὴ θεατρικὸν καὶ θυμελικὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἔστι δὲ οἷον ἀρματηλάται, μουσουργοί, ὑποκριταὶ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. χρώνται δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ τε γεν-  
εθλίῳ καὶ ἀναρρήσεων βασιλέων καὶ ἐγκαινίων πόλεων, μάλιστα  
105 δὲ ἐπὶ θριάμβων, οὓς δὴ ποιοῦσι μετὰ τὴν νίκην, πολεμίους διὰ μέσον τῶν θεάτρων διαβιβάζοντες. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο.

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3: K-R 46, Erck 24.

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3: 2 περὶ ἀρχόντων De: om. codd. || 63 τὸ K-R: τὸν MP || 74 τὰς M: τοὺς P || 85 καθιστᾶσιν K-R: καθιστῶσιν MP

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23-24 Homerus, *Iliad.*, 2, 24. || 26 *Ibid.*, 4, 323. || 34 ἀκρόασιν: cf. Thucydidem, 2, 37. || 66 cf. Luc. 16, 10. 73-74 locum non invenit Erck, nec ego.

δ'.

(Περὶ στρατηγικῆς.)

Τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πολιτική, καὶ πόσα ταύτης τὰ πρῶτα καὶ καθολικώτερα μέρη, εἰς πόσα τε καὶ τίνα διαιρεῖται τῶν πολιτενομένων  
5 τὸ πλῆθος κατὰ τὸ ἄσπλον μέρος, καὶ ὁποίους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς τε ἄρ-

come useless. Trees, for example, chopped down in full leaf cannot be used by the carpenter, nor does balsam retain its full vigor when it is thinned with oil.

The unproductive are those who are unfit for any kind of work, private or public, because of old age, bodily infirmity, insanity, or some other excusing cause. Those charged with their care should be exceptionally humane, resourceful, kind, and sympathetic. They should regard the sufferings of those under their care as their own and look on their kind and humane work as its own reward.

The assistants to the officials listed above should not be elderly, unless a great deal of experience in their work makes them of special value to the official, nor should they be too young. They should be of excellent character and carry out their assigned tasks in an intelligent, competent, and orderly manner. All the other workers, such as bearers of lumber and other loads, should be young because of the bodily strength needed for their type of work.

The Romans add another class of citizens to the above, which is called the theatrical profession. This includes charioteers, musicians, actors, and the like. They are employed for celebrations such as the emperor's birthday or his accession, for the dedication festivities of cities, and especially for triumphs. These are held after a victory, and enemy prisoners are paraded through the hippodrome.<sup>4</sup> In former times not only the Romans but the Greeks and many other peoples had a place for this class.

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<sup>1</sup>Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 24.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 4, 323.

<sup>3</sup>The source of this statement is not known.

<sup>4</sup>Literally, theaters, but it almost certainly refers to the hippodrome here: see C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten, I/I* (= *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*) (Vienna, 1981), 337–53, esp. pp. 342–44.

#### 4.

[Strategy.]

In the preceding pages we have discussed the science of government, touching upon the principal and the more general departments of state, the several classes into which most of the citizens are divided, apart from the armed forces, and the



χοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, διὰ τῶν φθασάντων ἡμῖν εἴρηται. φέρε δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ στρατηγικῆς ἐροῦμεν, ἥ καὶ αὕτη μέρος ἐστὶ κράτιστον τῆς ὅλης πολιτικῆς. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν.

Μέγα κακὸν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πέρα κακῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
10 νόμου προτροπὴν καὶ ἀρετῆς τελείωσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ πεποιήνται τὰ  
ἡμέτερα αἵματα, χρῆ δὲ πάντως ἕκαστον τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος καὶ τῶν  
ὁμοφύλων ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ λόγοις καὶ γράμμασι καὶ πράγμασι, περὶ  
στρατηγικῆς γράφειν εἰλόμεθα, δι' ἧς οὐ μόνον μάχεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ  
κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυνησόμεθα.

15 Στρατηγικὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶ μέθοδος, καθ' ἣν τις στρατηγῶν τὰ μὲν  
οἰκεία φυλάξειεν, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων καταγωνίσαιτο, στρατηγὸς δὲ ὁ  
κατὰ στρατηγικὴν τέχνην διαπραττόμενος.

Οἷον δὲ δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι εἴρηται μὲν καὶ δι' ὧν ἀπλῶς  
τοὺς ἀρχοντας πρότερον ὑπεγράφομεν. δεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνοις τὸν  
20 στρατηγὸν εἶναι ἀνδρεῖον τῇ γνώμῃ, εὐφυνὴ τὰ στρατηγικά, ἐνθυμη-  
ματικόν, κριτικόν, δυνατὸν τῷ σώματι, φερέπονον, ἀκατάπληκτον,  
M f. 106<sup>v</sup> εἶτα τοῖς | μὲν ἀπειθέσι φοβερὸν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐπιχαρῆ, προσηνῆ,  
τοσοῦτον τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελούμενον, ὥς μηδὲν τῶν ἐνδεχομένων  
παραλιπεῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ λυσιτέλειαν. ὥστε ἀνάγκη τὸν στρα-  
25 τηγὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων δοκιμάζεσθαι καὶ διὰ ταύτας μᾶλλον τὴν  
ἀρχὴν δέχεσθαι.

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4: K-R 54, Erck 27.

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4: 2 περὶ στρατηγικῆς De: om. codd. || 9 πέρα M: πέρας P

ε'.

Τῆς δὲ στρατηγικῆς τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ φυλακτικὸν τῶν οἰκείων, τὸ  
δὲ ἀπειλητικὸν τῶν ὑπεναντίων. ἐστὶ δὲ φυλακτικὸν μὲν μέθοδος  
καθ' ἣν τις πράττων τοὺς ἰδίους φυλάξειεν καὶ ἅ τούτων ἐστίν, ἀπειλη-  
5 τικὸν δὲ μέθοδος καθ' ἣν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνηται. καὶ πρότερόν γε  
περὶ τοῦ φυλακτικοῦ ἐροῦμεν· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμεῖν ἐθέ-  
λοντα τὰ οἰκεία πρότερον ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τίθεσθαι. ἀσφάλειαν δὲ λέγω  
οὐ τὴν ἐν στρατεύμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσην περὶ τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ  
τὰς χώρας ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ μηδὲν τούτων κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων παθεῖν  
10 τοὺς ἐκείνων οἰκήτορας.

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5: K-R 56, Erck 27.

qualifications required of officials and their subordinates. Next, then, we have to speak of the science of strategy, which is really the most important branch of the entire science of government. Without further ado, I shall begin.

I know well that war is a great evil and the worst of all evils. But since our enemies clearly look upon the shedding of our blood as one of their basic duties and the height of virtue, and since each one must stand up for his own country and his own people with word, pen, and deed, we have decided to write about strategy. By putting it into practice we shall be able not only to resist our enemies but even to conquer them.

Strategy is the means by which a commander may defend his own lands and defeat his enemies. The general is the one who practices strategy.

The principal qualifications for a general should be evident from those we have just set down for all officials. In addition, the general should be manly in his attitudes, naturally suited for command, profound in his thinking, sound in his judgment, in good physical condition, hardworking, emotionally stable. He should instill fear in the disobedient, while he should be gracious and kind to the others. His concern for the common good should be such that he will neglect nothing at all that may be to its advantage. The general must be judged by his actions, and it is preferable that he be chosen for command on the basis of his record.

## 5.

Strategy teaches us how to defend what is our own and to threaten what belongs to the enemy. The defensive is the means by which one acts to guard his own people and their property, the offensive is the means by which one retaliates against his opponents. We shall first discuss the defensive. The person who wants to wage war against an enemy must first make sure that his own lands are secure. By secure I mean not only the security of the army but of the cities and the entire country, so that the people who live there may suffer no harm at all from the enemy.

ζ'.

⟨Περὶ τοῦ φυλακτικοῦ.⟩

Τοῦ τοίνυν φυλακτικοῦ εἰς μὲν δὴ τρόπος ἐστὶ καθ' ὃν φύλακάς τε καὶ προφύλακας τάττομεν καὶ πυρσοὺς ἀνάπτομεν καὶ φρουρίων  
5 ἐπιμελούμεθα τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας καταμηνύοντες.

Δεύτερος δέ, καθ' ὃν τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπελεύσεις δεδοικότες τεῖχη τε καὶ προτειχίσματα ἐγείρομεν καὶ τάφρους ἀνορρύττομεν, ὥστ' ἐν καιρῷ ἐπιστασίας ἐχθρῶν ἐπισυναγαγεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ πλήθη ἐπὶ  
10 τε αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τὰς νήσους ὅσα φυλάττειν δύναται τοὺς εἰς αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντας.

Τρίτος δέ, καθ' ὃν τοῖς φυλακτικοῖς τῶν ὅπλων κεχρήμεθα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ποιούμεν χαρακώματα, τάφρους, τριβόλους, βόθρους, σκόλοπας, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

Τέταρτος δέ, καθ' ὃν τῶν πολεμίων καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπεμβαινόντων  
15 καὶ ἡμῶν ἀδυνατούντων πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν, τῇ ἀντιπεριστάσει κεχρήμεθα, ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς παρακειμένους τῶν ἐθνῶν κατ' αὐτῶν διεγείροντες καθά που καὶ ἡμέτερος πεποιήκε βασιλεὺς, ποτὲ δὲ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀντεισαγόμενοι, οὐ τοῦ ποιῆσαι χάριν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πολλάκις γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀποστήσαι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ  
20 καὶ πλαττόμενον τοῦτο πολλάκις ὠφέλησεν. οἷον βουλόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναχώρησιν ἔπεισέ τινας τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκείων ἐν σχήματι αὐτομόλων φυγόντας ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰσελαύνειν τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν, οἱ δὲ φυλακῆς τῶν οἰκείων ἔνεκα ἀφέντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέστρεφον.

M f. 107 25 Πέμπτος δέ, | καθ' ὃν πᾶσι τρόποις ἀποροῦντες τοῦ μάχεσθαι, τὸ εἰρηνεύειν αἰρούμεθα, καὶν τύχῃ ζημίαν τινὰ ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπάγεσθαι. δύο γὰρ κακῶν προκειμένων αἰρετώτερον τὸ κουφότερον· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἂν τις τὰ οἰκεία φυλάξειεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ εἰρηνεύειν ἔλοιτο.

30 Εἰ καὶ τελευταῖον ἡμῖν τέτακται, ἀρχὴ δὲ καὶ τέλος πάσης φυλακῆς τὰ τε σιτία καὶ τὰ πόματα, ὧν χρή καὶ μᾶλλον φροντίζειν ἐν τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

6: K-R 58, Erck 28.

## 6.

## [Defense.]

One way of arranging a good defense is to station sentinels and troops in out-posts, to light signal fires, and to set up fortified positions to give warning of the approach of the enemy.

Second, in anticipation of enemy attacks we can erect walls, outer ramparts, and dig moats. Then, upon the actual approach of the enemy, most of our people can gather together behind them. They can also take refuge on mountains, in caves, and on any readily defensible island.

Third, in addition to defending ourselves with our weapons, we can make use of earthen ramparts, trenches, caltrops, pits, sharpened stakes, and the like.

The fourth way is useful when the enemy are advancing against us and we are unable to face them in open battle. We should then take some offensive action. Sometimes we can stir up neighboring peoples against them, much as our present emperor has been doing.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes we might line up our own troops against them, not really for action, although this may often result, but to keep them at a distance from our own men. Feigned movements of this sort have often worked out well. In like manner, to get the enemy to withdraw, there are cases in which the commander prevailed upon some prisoners or some of his own men to pose as deserters, flee to the enemy, and spread the report that the general was about to invade their country. To defend their territory, then, the enemy would evacuate our land and return to their own.

The fifth way applies when we are in absolutely no condition to continue fighting. We then choose to make peace, even though it may cause us some disadvantage. When faced with two evils, the lesser is to be chosen. Negotiating for peace may be chosen before other means, since it might very well offer the best prospect for protecting our own interests.

Although listed here in last place, provision for food and water for the army and for the civilian population is both the beginning and the end of any plan of defense.

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<sup>1</sup>Probably Justinian (527–65), as mentioned in the Introduction.

## ζ'.

Ὅποιους εἶναι χρή τοὺς φύλακας καὶ  
κατὰ τίνας δεῖ τοὺς τόπους φυλάττειν αὐτούς.

Τοὺς μὲν οὖν τὰς φύλακας καὶ προφύλακας ἐμπεπιστευμένους  
5 ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, ἀνδρείους, στοχαστικούς,  
ἀγρύπνους, δυνατοὺς, κούφους τὰ σώματα, ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἴκαδε  
γυναικᾶς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ περιουσίαν τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν δια-  
φέρουσιν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τὸ πλέον καθεύδειν, νυκτὸς δὲ τὸ ἔλαττον,  
οὐ πάντας ἅμα ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον. δωρεὰς δὲ  
10 λαμβάνειν ὅποτε μάλιστα χειμῶνος κρατοῦντος τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πα-  
ρουσίαν μηνύσωσιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ διορίσαι καὶ τοὺς τόπους, τίνες ἂν  
τούτων εἶεν εἰς κατασκοπὴν ἐπιτήδευοι.

Τῶν τοίνυν τόπων οἱ μὲν εἰσι γυμνοὶ τε (καὶ) καθαροί, οἱ δὲ σύν-  
δενδροι, οἱ δὲ ἐλώδεις. χρήσιμοι δὲ τούτων εἰσὶν εἰς κατασκοπὴν οἱ  
15 ὁμαλοὺς τε καὶ καθαρούς τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ τόπους ἔχοντες ὥστε μὴ  
λανθάνειν τοῖς φύλαξι τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔξοδον. εἰ δὲ ὁμαλοὶ μὲν τε καὶ  
καθαροὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ λοφώδεις, καταμανθάνειν τὰς ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν  
λόφων κοιλότητας εἰ δι' αὐτῶν διαβιβαζόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι λανθάνειν  
τοὺς φύλακας δύνανται.

20 Τοὺς δὲ ἵππους τῶν τὰς φύλακας ἐχόντων ἀνάγκη θλαδίας τε  
εἶναι καὶ ταχεῖς, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ χρεμετίζειν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ κατα-  
λαμβάνεσθαι φεύγοντας.

Πολλάκις δὲ τοὺς φύλακας κατασχεῖν βουλόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι,  
αἰχμαλώτους ἑαυτοὺς πλάττονται σχηματίζοντες τὰ ἡμέτερα· οἱ  
25 ἐπιδὼν ἐπὶ τὰς φύλακας ἔλθοιεν, συνέχουσιν αὐτούς. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλοθεν εἰσιόντες εἶτα κατὰ νώτου τῶν ἡμετέρων γενόμενοι συλ-  
λαμβάνουσι τοὺς φυλάττοντας, ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνόν ἐστι τοῖς  
φυλαττομένοις.

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MP VSB (partim) 7: K-R 60, Erck 29.

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7: 2-3 ὅποιους . . . αὐτοὺς MP: περί φυλάκων VSB, qui hic inc. || 5 τὴν φύσιν MP: om.  
VSB || 7 τε MP: om. VSB || 11 τοὺς τόπους K-R: τὸν τόπον MP || 13 καὶ K-R: om. MP || 16-17 τε  
. . . λοφώδεις K-R: οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ λοφώδεις τε καὶ καθαροὶ MP Erck || 23-24 πολλάκις . . .  
πλάττονται MP: ὅτι τοὺς φύλακας βουλόμενοι κατασχεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι ὡς αἰχμάλωται ἐπέρχον-  
ται VSB

## 7.

**Qualifications Required of the Guards and the Location of Their Guard Posts.**

Soldiers entrusted with duty as sentinels or at the outposts must possess native intelligence; they should be courageous, clever, alert, physically strong and active. They should have their wives and children at home with them and possess more property than the average soldier. They should get most of their sleep during the day and less at night, never all of them at the same time, but some earlier, some later. They ought to receive a reward each time they report the presence of the enemy, especially if it is a stormy season. Their posts should be carefully selected to make sure they have a good view.

Some of the posts may be located on open and clear ground, some in wooded areas, others in swampy ones. The best observation posts are those with level, open ground in front of them, so the guards will not miss any movement of the enemy. If there is no open, clear ground but just hills, then the lower terrain between the hills should be checked out in case enemy troops could pass through there and elude the guards.

The horses of the men on guard duty must be geldings and should be fast, the first so they will not neigh and the second so they will not be overtaken if they have to flee.

It is not uncommon for the enemy to try to capture the guard post by having men pose as escaped prisoners, even wearing our equipment. Then, when they get close to the guards, they overpower them. In other cases, enemy soldiers have worked around to the rear of our sentinels and taken them prisoners, which exposes the troops covered by the guard posts to great danger.

η'.

Περὶ πυρσῶν καὶ ὅπως οἰκονομητέον αὐτούς.

Τοὺς δὲ πυρσοὺς ἀνάγκη παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοτέρων ὀρᾶσθαι τόπων,  
 M f. 107<sup>v</sup> ἂφ' ὧν | ἕτεροι ἐκ μακροῦ γινῶναι τὸ σημεῖον τῆς φλογὸς ἢ τοῦ κάπνου  
 5 δύνανται. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς τὴν φροντίδα τῶν πυρσῶν ἔχοντας ὁμοίως καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοῖς φύλαξι καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ὥς μὴ φόβῳ  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸ καιροῦ φεύγοντας καταλιμπάνειν τὸ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ  
 καπνοῦ καταμηνύειν τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔφοδον. προαποτίθεσθαι δὲ φρύ-  
 γανά τε καὶ καλάμην καὶ δένδρων ἀκρεμόνας, καὶ χόρτον, φέρειν τε  
 10 μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ λίθον πυρίτην. ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα φλόγα τε καὶ καπνὸν  
 δασύν τε καὶ εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενον στύππη κατὰ πυρὸς ἐπιχειρομένην.

Ἀνάπτειν δὲ τοὺς πυρσοὺς δις μὲν ἀδήλου τούτου ὄντος εἴτε  
 θηρίων ἢν τὸ κίνημα εἴτε προσφύγων εἴτε πολεμίων. γνωρίμου δὲ  
 ἀναφανέντος τοῦ ὅτι ἐχθροὶ καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξιόντες, τριπλα-  
 15 σιάζειν ἢ τετραπλασιάζειν τὰς ἀναφλογώσεις, πλειόνων δὲ ὄντων  
 πλειστάκις. δυνατὸν δέ, ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τισι τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων  
 εἴρηται, μετὰ τοῦ ὅτι ἐχθροὶ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν διδάξαι τῶν χιλιάδων  
 αὐτῶν, τοσαυτάκις τοὺς πυρσοὺς ἀνάπτοντες ὅπόσαι καὶ χιλιάδες ἀν-  
 δρῶν εἶναι δοκοῖεν.

20 Χρὴ δὲ εἰδέναι ὥς οἱ πολέμοι πολλάκις ἐμφανίζονται μὲν ἡμέ-  
 ρας, ἐπιστρέφουσι δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τινας ἡμέρας καθησυχάζοντες, καὶ  
 τοῦτο ποιοῦσι πολλάκις. οἱ δὲ πυρσοὶ καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπι-  
 φάνειαν ἀναπτόμενοι φυγαδεύουσι τοὺς ἰδίους· οἱ δὲ καταφρονήσαν-  
 τες τῶν πυρσῶν ἅτε δὴ διαψευδομένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκῶν ἀνα-  
 25 παύονται. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἐξιόντες ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ συλλαμβάνουσι.  
 χρὴ οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν πρώτας καὶ μερικὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπι-  
 φανείας ἅπαξ ἢ δις ἀνάπτοντας ἡρεμεῖν, εὐτρεπίζεσθαι δὲ πρὸς φυ-  
 γὴν τὰ πλήθη, οὐ μὴν τῶν οἰκῶν ἀναχωρεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ ἀναφαινο-  
 μένων διπλασιάζειν ἢ πολυπλασιάζειν, νυκτὸς μὲν τοὺς πυρσοὺς,  
 30 ἡμέρας δὲ τοὺς καπνοὺς, ὥστε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ πλήθη εἰδέναι τὰ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν σημείων δηλούμενα. κοινὰ δὲ πάντως σημεῖα ταῦτα ἔστωσαν  
 τοῖς τε μνηνῶσι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν.

8; K-R 62, Erck 30.

8; 2 καὶ . . . αὐτούς MP: om. VSB || 5 δεῖ δὲ MP: om. VSB || ἔχοντας MP: ἐμπεπιστευ-  
 μένους VSB || 5-6 ὁμοίως . . . τοῖς MP: πολλὴν διέγερσιν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν δεῖ VSB || 6  
 φύλαξι . . . ἀνδρείαν MP: καὶ ἀνδρείους μάλιστα εἶναι VSB || μὴ MP: om. VSB || 7 πυρὸς K-R:  
 πυρὰς MP: om. VSB || 7-8 τὸ . . . ἔφοδον MP: τὴν τῆς ἐφόδου διὰ τῶν πυρσῶν μὴνυσιν VSB || 8  
 προαποτίθεσθαι δὲ MP: δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς προαποτίθεσθαι VSB || 9 τε MP: om. VSB || 9-10 φέρειν

## 8.

## Signal Fires and Their Management.

It is essential that signal fires be seen by posts far to the rear, and from them others still further off may be able to recognize the signal given by flame or smoke. The men in charge of the beacons should have the same qualifications as those selected for guard duty. They should be particularly noted for their bravery, so that fear of the enemy will not bring them to abandon their posts prematurely and fail to make the fire and smoke signals warning of the enemy's approach. Firewood, reeds, tree branches, and dry grass should be gathered and kept on hand. The men should carry flint stones with them. Hemp thrown upon a fire causes a fierce flame and dense, high clouds of smoke.

The signal fires should be lit twice if the nature of the movement is uncertain, that is, whether it was caused by wild animals, or by refugees, or by the enemy. If it becomes clear that it is the enemy and that they are launching an attack, then the signal should be lit three or four times, or even more if it is a very large force. It is possible, as some of the more ancient authorities suggest, to report not only the approach of the enemy but their strength in thousands, lighting the beacons once for each thousand men estimated.

We must remember that the enemy often show themselves during the day, retire at night, and remain quiet a few days. They may repeat this a number of times. With the lighting of the beacons at each appearance of the enemy, our own people take to flight. After a while they will come to disregard the signals as misleading and stay quietly at home. The enemy can then come out and capture every one of them. For this reason, then, the signal should be given just once or twice when the enemy, or some of their detachments, first come into sight. The people may then get ready for flight but not yet leave their houses. But when the enemy actually appear in force, the signals should be given two or more times, fire by night and smoke by day. It is essential that the people understand the meaning of the signals. Standard signals should certainly be established for everyone, the men in charge of the beacons and the people who might have to escape.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On fire signals see P. Pattenden, "The Byzantine Early Warning System," *Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 258-99.



. . . πυρίτην MP: om. VSB || 11 τε καί MP: om. VSB || στύπη K-R: σκευή codd. || ἐπιχειομένη  
MP: χειομένη VS: καταχειομένη B || 12 τούτου ὄντος MP: ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος VSB || 14 τοῦ MP:  
ὡς VSB || 15 ἢ τετραπλασιάζειν VSB: om. MP || 16 τῶν MP: om. VSB || 18 ὅποσαι MP: ὅποσι VSB  
|| 24 ἀναπαύονται MP: διαναπαύονται VSB || 25 ἅπαντας VSB: ἅπαντα MP || 27 ἅπαξ MP: om.  
VSB || ἀνάπτουτας VSB: ἀνάπτων MP || 29 ἢ πολυπλασιάζειν VSB: om. MP || 31 πάντως VSB:  
πάντων MP || 32 τε MP: om. VSB

θ'.

### Περὶ φρουρίων.

M f. 108

Τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐξηύρηται πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπῆς ἔνεκα τῆς  
τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρουσίας, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν αὐτομόλων ὑποδοχὴν,  
5 τρίτον διὰ τὸ κατέχειν τοὺς ἡμετέρους φυγάδας, καὶ τέταρτον διὰ τὸ  
ἀθρόον ἐμπίπτειν ἡμῶς τοῖς τὰ ἄκρα οἰκοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ μάλ-  
λον λείας ἔνεκα ἢ ἀνακρίσεως τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τελουμένων  
καὶ | περὶ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ καθ' ἡμῶν βουλευόνται.

Δεῖ δὲ τὰ φρούρια πλησίον ποιεῖν τῶν ὄρων καὶ μὴ πόρρω ἀφε-  
10 στηκότα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς παρόδου, ὥστε μὴ λαυθάνειν τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς  
κατοικοῦντας τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάροδον, μὴ δ' οὕτω πλησιάζειν τοῖς  
ἀναπεπταμένοις χωρίοις ὥστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκ τοῦ λίαν σύνεγγυς ἐπὶ  
μακρὸν ἐκείσε προσεδρενόντων διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐπιτηδεϊότητα  
μηδὲνα τῶν ἡμετέρων συγχωρεῖσθαι, εἴγε χρεῖα τούτου γένηται,  
15 μῆτε εἰσιέναι κατὰ φρούριον μηδ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν θέλοντας ἐξιέναι.

Ἀσφαλίεσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐ μᾶλλον τεχνικῇ ἢ φυσικῇ ὀχυρότητι,  
καὶ μὴ ἀποτίθεσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς πλοῦτον μῆτε συνάγειν πλήθος ἀνθρώ-  
πων, ἵνα μὴ τῷ φθόνῳ τούτων ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι παρα-  
κάθηται. ἔνθα δυσχερὲς μὲν ἡμῖν ἐτοίμως τοὺς ἰδίους συνάξει πρὸς  
20 πόλεμον, αὐτοῖς δὲ ῥῶον προπαρασκευασαμένοις τὴν ἔξοδον.

Τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας κατ' αὐτὰ τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα, ᾧτινι πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ  
φρουρίου φρουρτίς ἐμπεπίστευται, γνῶριμον μὲν ἐπ' εὐσεβεῖα τυγχά-  
νειν μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρέπει ἄρχουσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείσε κα-  
τοικοῦντας μὴ ἔχειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας  
25 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔχειν πάντως τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μέρος ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ,  
ἵνα τῷ πόθῳ τούτων μῆτε πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φεύγοιεν μῆτ' ἄλλως προ-  
διδόειν τὰ φρούρια. μένειν δὲ οὐκ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινας  
χρόνους ἐναλλάττεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἀναστρεφόντων, τῶν  
δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκων ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια παραγενομένων. εἰ δὲ τῶν σφόδρα  
30 ἀσφαλεστάτων ὑπάρχει τὰ φρούρια ὥστε κατ' οὐδὲνα τρόπον πο-  
λιορκεῖσθαι, σιτοδοτεῖσθαι δὲ ἀνεμποδίστως δύνανται παρ' ἡμῶν,  
οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ τὰς ἰδίας φαμηλίας αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκείσε διὰ βίου  
τελεῖν.

## 9.

## Forts.

Forts are used for several purposes: first, to observe the approach of the enemy; second, to receive deserters from the enemy; third, to hold back any fugitives from our own side. The fourth is to facilitate assembly for raids against outlying enemy territories. These are undertaken not so much for plunder as for finding out what the enemy are doing and what plans they are making against us.

These forts should be erected near the frontier and not far from the route the enemy are expected to take, so that any hostile advance will not go undetected by the garrison. They should not be located too much out in the open. If they are, the enemy, taking advantage of the ground, could keep them under observation from very close up to a great distance and so prevent any of our men, if need arise, from entering the fort or from leaving it when they wish.

Natural strength as well as technical skill should assure the defense of the forts. Valuables should not be stored in them, nor should too many men be assembled there. These may lead the enemy to invest the place for a long time. This would make it difficult for us to assemble our own troops for action, whereas it would be an easy matter for the enemy to get ready to move out.

The garrison in each fort should have a commanding officer entrusted with complete responsibility for the post. He should be conspicuous for his religious character as well as for all the other qualifications one expects in an officer. The men in the garrison should not have their wives and children with them. Most of them should be left in a different province, so that love of them may not tempt the men to go over to the enemy or otherwise jeopardize the security of the fort. Soldiers should not stay too long in these posts, but should be relieved at regular intervals. One group may return home, while another comes in from their homes to the fort. Still, if a fort is extremely strong, so that there is no danger of its being besieged, and we can keep it provisioned without any problem, then there is no reason why the men cannot have their families reside there with them.

Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν κατοικοῦντων τὰ φρούρια ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλή-  
 35 φθησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν αἰχμαλώτους παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας κέκτην-  
 ται, τούτοις οὐ δεῖ καταπιστεύειν τὰ φρούρια, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπ'  
 ἐγκλήματι ληφθεὶς κατεκρίθη. ὕδατος δὲ μάλιστα χορηγίαν διὰ παν-  
 τὸς ἔχειν αὐτὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἀρκούσης τῷ καιρῷ καθ' ὃν παρα-  
 κεκαθηκέναι αὐτοῖς τὸ πολέμιον δύναται.

9: K-R 66, Erck 31.

9: 20 αὐτοῖς K-R: αὐτοὶ MP || προπαρασκευασαμένοις K-R: προπαρασκευασμένους  
 MP || 36 τούτοις K-R: τούτους MP || 38 αὐτὰ καὶ K-R: καὶ αὐτὰ MP

## ι'.

### Περὶ οἰκοδομῆς πόλεως.

Δεῖ δὲ μέλλοντας πόλεις κτίζειν πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπῆσαι τὸ  
 χωρίον, εἰ τὸ μέλλον ἐπ' αὐτὸ κτίζεσθαι τεῖχος ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἔσται  
 5 ποτὲ τοῖς πολιορκούσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου θέσιν.

M f. 108<sup>v</sup>

Δεύτερον δὲ πειράσαι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ | γνῶναι εἰ πρὸς πόσιν ἀκίν-  
 δυνον καὶ εἰ ἀρκούντως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως χορηγίαν καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὅσοι καταφεύγειν εἰς αὐτὴν μέλλοιεν ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως.  
 εἰ δὲ ἐκτὸς εἴη τοῦ τεύχους τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀνάγκη ἢ παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν  
 10 κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως ἢ μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς ἀντλοῦντας ἐπιδημούντων  
 τῶν πολεμίων.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ εἰ λίθον ἔχει τέμνεσθαι δυνάμενον ἢ τετμημέ-  
 νον ἤδη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πόρρωθεν μετὰ πολλῶν συναγόμενον τῶν κιν-  
 δύνων, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ τὸ ξύλον μὴ λίαν μακρόθεν μηδὲ διὰ δυσβάτων  
 15 τόπων ἀποφέρεται ὥστε ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων  
 συντέλειαν.

Καὶ τέταρτον, εἰ σιτοφόρας ἡ χώρα καθέστηκεν ἢ καὶ ἄλλοθεν  
 σιτοδοτεῖσθαι δύναται, ὁμοίως δὲ εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκεῖθεν τρέφεσθαι οἱ  
 πολῖται δύνανται. κἂν μὲν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχη, θαρρεῖν τῇ κτίσει, εἰ δὲ  
 20 μὴ, λυσιτελεῖς ταύτην παραιτεῖσθαι.

10: K-R 68, Erck 32.

We must not entrust the safety of these forts or assign to their garrisons men who have once been captured by the enemy or who have relatives imprisoned by them or who have been caught and convicted of some crime. Under all circumstances the forts must have a good supply of food and water, enough to last through any possible siege by the enemy.

## 10.

### Building a City.

Anyone intending to found a city must first carefully examine the site to see if it is suitable, so that the walls to be constructed will be able to withstand a siege.

The water should be examined next to find out if it is safe to drink and if there is enough to supply the population of the city as well as all who might be expected to take refuge there in time of danger. If the source of water is outside the walls, the building of the city must be abandoned or a way found for the water bearers to go out even in the presence of the enemy.

Third, one must find out if stone is available, already cut or easily quarried, so that it will not have to be transported a long distance at great risk. One should also find out if lumber has to be brought from far away or over difficult terrain, so that it is quite impracticable to have it at hand for construction.

Fourth, one should find out whether the country produces enough food or whether it can be brought in from elsewhere. In like manner, can the citizens find other sources of sustenance there? If all these can be answered affirmatively, go ahead with the construction; but if not, it is best to abandon the project.

ια'.

Ποῦ δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν.

Χωρία τοίνυν ἐπιτήδειά ἐστιν εἰς κτίσιν πόλεως, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μέλλοι πλησιαίτερα κεῖσθαι τῶν ὄρων, ὅσα κατὰ λόφων κείται, 5 κρημνοὶ δὲ κύκλῳ τὴν ἄνοδον ἀποφράττουσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κυκλοῦνται ἢ κυκλοῦσθαι δύναται οὐ δυναμένων ἄλλοθι μεταφέρεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἢ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κείμενα ἰσθμῶν ἔχει θέσιν ὀλίγῳ παντελῶς μέρει τῇ ἡπείρῳ συναπτόμενα.

10 Χρὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰρημένων θέσεων μὴ καθ' ὑδάτων κεῖσθαι τὸ τεῖχος, ῥᾶον γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο διὰ νεῶν καὶ κατενεγκεῖν κάτωθεν ὑπορύττοντας καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἄνωθεν ἐπιτρέχοντας, ὥστε φανερόν τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς. ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ τεῖχος μήτ' ἔλαττον 15 πηγῶν λ', ὥς ἂν μὴ τὰς ναῦς πυργοποιήσαντες εἰτα μηχαναῖς τισι χρώμενοι ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβαίνοιεν ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει, μήτε πάλιν πλέον πηγῶν ρ'. λυσιτελεῖς μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀσύμφορον νῦν μὲν ἐξιούσι τῶν πλοίων μετὰ πλείστων τῶν τραυμάτων, νῦν δὲ ἐπαναστρέφουσι καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα μετὰ πλείστων τῶν κινδύνων. φθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡσαύτως τὰ βέλη καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ 20 τοῦ τεύχους βαλλόμενοι λίθοι, οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ τάχους τῶν νεῶν ἀποβήσονται καὶ αὐθις ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναβήσονται ὡς κατὰ πεδίου τρέχοντες, εἰτα ἐπαναστρέφοντες καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι σκεπόμενοι. καὶ (περὶ) | μὲν ἀσφαλείας τόπων, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν τόπων φυσικῆς ὀχυρότητος, ταῦτα.

M f. 109

25 Οὐκ ἄγνωθόν δὲ ὅτι πολλοὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ὀρώντες καὶ ταύτην διὰ παντὸς ἐστάναι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴν πόλεις μεγάλας ποιεῖν ἔμελλον, οὐ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἢ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐφρόντιζον, διὸ κατὰ πεδίον ταύτας πολλάκις ἀνωκοδόμουν κήποις τε καὶ παραδείσοις καὶ λειμῶσιν ὠραιζόμενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἄδηλον τῶν ἐπι- 30 συμβαινόντων ὀρώντες καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μᾶλλον τῆς εὐπρεπείας προκρίνοντας ἐκεῖ ταύτας ποιεῖν βουλευόμεθα καὶ τεῖχη περιβαλεῖν, ἐνθα ἂν τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀδυνατεῖ μηχανήματα.

Γένοιτο δ' ἂν ποτε καὶ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ πόλις ὀχυρὰ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν λίθων καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ προσέτι τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην 35 ἐπιμέλειαν, κἂν μὴ ποταμοῖς ἢ θαλάσσῃ ἢ κρημοῖς βοηθῇται. δεῖ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις πρῶτον μὲν πορρωτάτῳ τῶν ὄρων κτίζειν διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ λανθανούσας ἐπιδρομὰς, δεύτερον δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν αὐτὰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον τρόπον.

## 11.

## The Site for Building a City.

Suitable sites for building a city, especially if it is going to be fairly close to the border, are those on high ground with steep slopes all about to make approach difficult. Also suitable are sites with large rivers flowing around them or which can be made to do so, and which, because of the nature of the land, cannot easily be diverted. Finally, there are sites on a promontory in the sea or in very large rivers connected to the mainland only by a very narrow isthmus.

In such locations, however, the walls must not be built at the water's edge. That makes it easy for enemy ships to come in close enough to undermine the walls from below or to overthrow them by frontal assault. This is made clear in books on siegecraft. The walls should be set back from the water's edge no less than eighteen meters.<sup>1</sup> This should prevent the enemy from constructing towers on the ships and employing certain mechanisms to get over onto the wall. Neither should the distance be more than sixty-two meters.<sup>2</sup> Keeping such an open space works to the advantage of the city and the disadvantage of its attackers. While landing from the ships they will suffer a very large number of casualties, and only at great risk will they be able to turn about and find refuge in the ships. They will constantly be within range of arrows and of rocks hurled from the walls. They cannot move nearly as fast in landing from the ships and then getting back on board as they could charging on level ground, wheeling about, and covering themselves with their shields. This is enough about the defense of places whose position is naturally strong.

I am not unaware that many people look to the present prosperity and believe in increasing it in every way. When they start planning to found large cities, they give no less weight to nice appearance than to security. They have built a number of such cities on level ground and beautified them with gardens, parks, and lawns. But the way I look at it is that the outcome of what is happening these days is uncertain. Security, I think, is more important than a nice appearance. I prefer to have the cities located and fortified in such a way as to render useless the machines of any besiegers.

Still, it is quite possible that a city built on a plain may be strong because of the size of the stones used, the method of construction, the general plan also, and other matters of detail, even though it is not favored by rivers, the sea, or cliffs. But it is important that such cities be built at a good distance from the border to avoid sudden, surprise attacks. In erecting them, now, the points given below should be kept in mind.

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<sup>1</sup>The text has "30 picheis." Two Byzantine feet made up one pichys, which is equivalent to 62.46 cm.: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 21.

<sup>2</sup>That is, 100 picheis.

11: 23 περι Erck: περι τῆς K-R: lac. 3-4 litt. codd. || 36 κτίζειν K-R: κτίζειν αὐτάς MP

ιβ'.

(Πῶς δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν.)

Δεῖ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πάχος τῶν τειχῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον πέντε πηχῶν ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πηχῶν εἴκοσι, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸ μὴ κατασεῖσθαι ἢ  
5 κριοῖς διασειόμενα ἢ λίθοις βαλλόμενα οὓς πετροβόλοι μηχαναὶ ἀποπέμπουσι, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ αἱ κλίμακες ῥαδίως τῷ τείχει προσπίπτουσι καὶ οἱ δι' αὐτῶν ποτε ἀνιόντες ἀκίνδυνον ἔχωσι τὴν ἀνάβασιν.

Συμβάλλεται δὲ καὶ μάλλον τοῖς τοιούτοις τείχεσιν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων τῶν πύργων καὶ τοῦ τείχους βοήθεια. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς πύργους  
10 ποιεῖν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἔξω αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἀπέναντι τῶν πολιορκούντων ἐξαγώνους τε καὶ ἰσοπλεύρους, τῶν μὲν δύο εὐθειῶν ἀναιρουμένων ὑφ' ὧν ἡ ἐντὸς γωνία γίνεται, μιᾶς δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπι-  
ξευγνύουσης τὰς παραλλήλους εὐθείας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔνδοθεν αὐ-  
τῶν ἐπιφάνειαν κυλινδροειδεῖς, ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ  
15 τοῦ ἐδάφους, λήγοντος δὲ κατ' ἴσον τοῦ κέντρου τοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν πληροῦντος ἡμισφαιρίου ἐφ' ᾧ βεβήκασιν οἱ κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

Τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπάλξεις ἐγγωνίους γίνεσθαι, ὥστε ὑποβλέφαρα ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχοντα τὸ βάθος σπιθαμῶν τριῶν,  
20 τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἐπάλξεις ὥστε μὴ πάσχειν ῥαδίως ταῖς τῶν λίθων βολαῖς, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τεταγμένους καὶ μήτε συμπα-  
M f. 109\* τεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν παρερχομένων μήτε μὴν ἐμπόδιον ἐκείνοις καθίστασθαι.

25 Παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ὑπὲρ γῆν κτίσματος τὰ κάτω ἄχρι πηχῶν ἑπτὰ, εἵγε εὐποροῖμεν, διὰ μεγίστων λίθων οἰκοδομείσθωσαν. τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους λίθους μεγίστους καὶ σκληροὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀρμόζοντας καὶ τὰ μήκη κατὰ βάθος ἔχειν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως  
30 ὑπὸ τῶν κριῶν διασεῖσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν χελωνῶν διορύττεσθαι.

Ἀσφαλὲς δὲ καὶ προτειχισμάτων φροντίζειν, τοῦτο μὲν ὑποδοχῆς ἔνεκα τῶν οἰκείων, ἐπειδὴν ἀγρόθεν ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καταφεύγοιεν, ὡς μὴ πάντῃ στενοχωρεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντας δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπο-  
35 μάχεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ προσκόπτειν τὰς χελώνας καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥαδίως κατὰ τοῦ τείχους χωρεῖν.

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τούτου τάφρον ἀνορύττειν ὥστε δυσὶ τούτοις,

## 12.

## [How to Build a City.]

First of all, the walls should not be less than three meters thick and twelve and a half meters high.<sup>1</sup> This should keep it from being shattered by battering rams or by stones hurled by stone-throwing engines, and the height should make it difficult to plant ladders against the wall and also make it dangerous for anyone trying to climb up them.

The design of the towers and the walls adds greatly to the defensive strength of the walls. The sides of the towers facing outwards right in front of the besiegers ought to form an equal-sided hexagon. The two straight lines forming the interior angle should be removed and substituted with one straight line connecting the parallel sides. The interior appearance of the tower should be cylindrical. This shape should begin at ground level, extending evenly to the center of the dome-shaped roof, which provides a base for the men fighting against the besiegers.<sup>2</sup>

The battlements on the walls should be at right angles. They should have undercut recesses no less than seventy centimeters<sup>3</sup> deep to strengthen the battlements and make them stand up better against stone projectiles, and also to enable the men assigned there to get some rest within them without being stepped on by others passing along the wall or themselves getting in their way.

All construction for four meters<sup>4</sup> up from the ground level should, if we can afford it, be built of very large stones. Size is important, and they should also be hard, carefully fitted together, as thick as the depth of the wall, so they may not easily be shaken by battering rams or dug out by sappers under protective cover.

The security of forward walls is also to be considered. They are used to receive our own people when they come in from the country to seek refuge behind the walls. This relieves congestion in the city, and the refugees can also stand there and fight against the enemy. They are especially useful in checking the advance of movable sheds and battering rams toward the main wall.

It is a good idea to dig a ditch outside this wall. This provides double protec-



προτειχίσματι καὶ τάφρῳ, τὸ τεῖχος φυλάττεσθαι. τὴν δὲ τάφρον  
 ποιήσομεν τὸ μὲν πλάτος οὐκ ἔλαττον πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ  
 40 βάθος πλέον ἢ ὅποσον ἂν ἔχοι τὸ βάθος τῶν θεμελίων, ἵνα ὑπογείους  
 τὰς ἐπιβουλάς κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπειδὰν  
 τὴν διώρυχα φθάσωσιν, ἀνακαλυπτόμενοι διελέγχονται. τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς διώρυχος ἀναφερόμενον χοῦν ἀναγκαῖον μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ  
 45 ἀπομαχόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ τόπου ἐπιτηδειότερον τῶν  
 πολεμίων καταγωνίσονται.

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆς διώρυχος γινέσθω καπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων  
 ὅσαι ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ κεῖνται. καθόλου δέ, ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ λόφων  
 κεῖνται, δυνατὸν δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνιέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ  
 50 τάφρων ἔξουσιν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἢ ὡδὲ πως ποιούντων ἡμῶν. ἀπο-  
 στάντες τοῦ τείχους πηχῶν τριάκοντα ἢ τεσσαράκοντα, εἴτα κύκλῳ  
 κατὰ κάθετον περιελόντες τὸν χοῦν ἔξω θήσομεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανές,  
 ὥστε δύο ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κωλύοντα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἄνοδον, τὴν τε  
 τομὴν τῆς γῆς οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ βάθος ἔχουσιν ἢ πήχεις τρεῖς καὶ τὸν  
 55 πλησιάζοντα τόπον αὐτῇ ὀξύτερόν τε καὶ δυσανάβατον τῇ ἐπιχώσει  
 γενόμενον.

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12: K-R 72, Erck 34.

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12: 2 πῶς . . . πόλιν K-R: om. codd. || 5 κριοῖς . . . βαλλόμενα K-R: λίθοις βαλλόμενα ἢ  
 κριοῖς διασειόμενα MP || 33 στενοχωρεῖσθαι K-R: σθενοχωρεῖσθαι MP || 53 τε M: δὲ P

ιγ'.

⟨Πῶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν πολιορκούντων.⟩

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον κτίζειν πόλιν θέλομεν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ παρα-  
 σκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν πολιορκούντων, φέρε δὴ καὶ περι-  
 5 αὐτῶν εἶπωμεν. διορύττουσιν οἱ πολιορκοῦντες τὰ τεῖχη τοὺς μὲν  
 M f. 110 λίθους τοῦ τείχους (σωρη)|δὸν λαμβάνοντες ἢ μεγίστους ὄντας κατα-  
 λαξεύοντες, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων τόπους ὀρθίας δᾶδας ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ξύλων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑφιστάνοντες τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς  
 10 υπερεΐδουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἄθρόον κατενεχθὲν καταλάβῃ τοὺς διορύττον-  
 τας. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἴδωσι τὸ τεῖχος πτώσιν ἀπειλοῦν, ἀνάψαντες τὰς  
 δᾶδας καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν ξύλων ἀναχωροῦσι· τῶν δὲ ξύλων ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός  
 ἀναλθθέντων καταπίπτει τὸ τεῖχος. ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο ποτὲ μὲν ἀσπά-

tion, forward wall and ditch, for the main wall. We should make the ditch no less than twenty-five meters wide<sup>5</sup> and either deeper or at least as deep as the foundations. Thus, if the enemy wants to damage the wall by mining, they will be discovered when they reach the excavated part, and forced to stop. The earth from the excavated ditch should be used to fill in the area between the main and the forward walls and leveled off to form a high, broad platform for the convenience of the soldiers there fighting against the enemy.

This same depth of excavation should be observed for any other city situated on a plain. In general, though, those cities located on hills, to which the enemy could have access, will be made secure not so much by ditches as by the following procedure. Standing back about eighteen or twenty-five meters<sup>6</sup> from the wall, we remove the dirt around the hill in a circle, digging vertically to make it slope downhill. This puts two obstacles in the enemy's way up the hill, the cut in the earth, which should be no less than two meters deep,<sup>7</sup> and the very steep and difficult slope rising up out of it.

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<sup>1</sup>In the text, five and twenty picheis.

<sup>2</sup>See Fig. 1, *infra*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup>Three spithamai, each equivalent to 23.4 cm.: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 19. See Fig. 2, *infra*, p. 136. See also Philo of Byzantium, 5, 1, 17, ed. and translated by Y. Garlan, *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 223; Paris, 1974), pp. 279–404, esp. 293; B. Meyer-Plath and A. Schneider, *Die Landmauern von Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 1943), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Seven picheis.

<sup>5</sup>Forty picheis.

<sup>6</sup>Thirty or forty picheis.

<sup>7</sup>Three picheis.

### 13.

#### [Preparations Needed to Resist Enemy Siege Machines.]

Since we do not intend simply building a city but also preparing it to resist the siege machines of the enemy, let us now turn to talk about this. The besiegers dig through the walls, removing the stones from the wall one at a time or, if very large, breaking them up, and in their place set up logs of pine or whatever other wood is at hand vertically to support the masonry above, so it will not suddenly fall down upon the diggers. When they see that the wall is about ready to fall, they set fire to the pine logs and other timber and withdraw. When the wood is consumed by the fire, the wall collapses. Sometimes this is done by digging out the dirt like a mole until

λακος δίκην τὴν γῆν ὑπορύττοντες μέχρι τοῦ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ γῆν κατα-  
 λαβεῖν, ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιούμενοι τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἔνθα φθάνειν  
 15 ἀδυνατοῦσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν βαλλόμενοι λίθοι καὶ τῶν βελῶν ὅσα  
 χρήσιμά ἐστι κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων. ποτὲ δὲ τὰς διωρυκτῆρας  
 χελώνας κατασκευάσαντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ταύτας τῷ τείχει  
 προσάξαντες τὸ τεῖχος δι' αὐτῶν διορύττουσι, τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς εἰρημέ-  
 νοις διαπραττόμενοι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ τεῖχος κατενεχθὲν οἱ πολιορκούν-  
 20 τες ἴδοιεν, σὺν μεγίστῃ βοῇ κατὰ τοῦ κατενεχθέντος τείχους συνέρ-  
 χονται. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῆς διώρυχος αἰτία τοιαύτη.

Ὅπως δὲ ἀπαντῆσαι τοὺς πολίτας κατὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου μηχανή-  
 ματος ἀκολούθως ῥηθήσεται. ῥητέον δὲ πρότερον ὅτι οἱ τὸν χοῦν  
 ὑπορύττοντες, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς πολίταις εὐφώρατον αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ μηχανήμα,  
 25 προκαλύμμασί τισι πρὸ τοῦ ὀρύγματος κέχρηται τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπι-  
 καλύπτοντες. ἔστι δὲ καταμαθεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον μηχανήμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχ-  
 θρῶν τελούμενον, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωμεν ἢ τὸν χοῦν ἐπιστοιβαζόμενον ἢ  
 προπετάσμασι χρωμένους τοὺς ἐναντίους. ποιοῦσι δὲ τὴν διώρυξιν οἱ  
 πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀεὶ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ λοξήν, ἵνα μὴ  
 30 γνῶριμον ἢ τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς ὃ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀποτείνονται. διὸ  
 δὴ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα πῆχεις ἀποστάντες τοῦ τείχους ποιήσομεν  
 τάφρον τῷ τείχει παράλληλον, τὸ δὲ βάθος αὐτῆς ὅπόσον ἂν ἢ τὸ  
 βάθος τοῦ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκοδομήματος τοῦ παρακειμένου τείχους· ἀνάγκη  
 γὰρ καταλαβεῖν τοὺς ὑπορύττοντας. ἀπειλούμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ ὕδατι  
 35 αὐτοὺς κατακλύζοντες ἢ καπνῷ καταπνίγοντες. τάχα δὲ καὶ πρὸς γῆν  
 τινα κατακλινόμενον καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐπιστήσαντα νῦν μὲν  
 ἐνταῦθα, νῦν δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ εἰς αἴσθησιν τὸν ἐν βάθει θόρυβον δέξα-  
 σθαι, κἀντεῦθεν πυθόμενον εἰς ἔρευναν ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ ἀντί-  
 στασιν τῶν ὑπορυττόντων καθίστασθαι. χρήσιμον δὲ τοῦτο ἂν τε  
 M f. 110<sup>o</sup> 40 μέχρι τοῦ | τείχους κατέλαβον οἱ ὑπορύττοντες, ἂν τε μὴ· τοὺς τε γὰρ  
 εἰσιέναι θέλοντας ἀνακόψομεν τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ τοῖς εἰσιούσι τὴν ἔξοδον  
 ἀποφράξομεν.

Τὸν δὲ ἀναρριπτόμενον χοῦν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀποπέμπειν ἀλλ'  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν πλευρὰν τῆς διώρυχος, ὥς μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν πά-  
 45 σχειν τοὺς τὴν τάφρον ἀνορύττοντας φυλαττομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ χώματος,  
 καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπιβούλευτον ὥς τὰ πολλὰ διαμένειν κωλυομένων τῶν  
 πολιορκούντων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους προσφέρεσθαι τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ  
 χῶμα, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν τάφρον.

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγομεν, εἰ μὴ τάφρος τὴν πόλιν κυκλοῖ. εἰ γὰρ  
 50 ἔστιν, αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἀνορύττοντες ῥῥδίως τοὺς ὑπορύττοντας κατα-  
 λαμβάνομεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τι μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἐρράγη λαυθανόντων τῶν  
 ἐναντίων ἡμᾶς διὰ πολλὴν πάντως τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀμέλειαν,  
 ἀποστάντες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ παθόντος τείχους ποιήσομεν διὰ τάχους  
 οἰκοδομὴν τινα ἐνδοθεν ἀρχομένην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑγιούς τείχους θάτέ-  
 55 ρου μέρους, λήγουσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ τείχους ἔστω

one gets to the wall underground. They begin such digging at a point where stones and arrows shot from the walls, ordinarily effective against besiegers, cannot reach them. Sometimes they prepare the tortoises for digging, move them from a clear spot up to the wall, and begin to dig under it in the manner just explained. When the besiegers see that the wall has fallen, they cheer loudly and charge into the collapsed section, which, of course, is the purpose of the digging.

How can the citizens deal with siege operations of this sort? We shall begin our discussion by noting that the enemy soldiers engaged in the digging will put up some kind of screen in front of them to mask their activity and keep their work from being detected by the citizens. We have reason to suspect that the enemy is involved in such operations whenever we notice a large pile of dirt or see the enemy putting up screens. The enemy do not always do their digging in a straight line but sometimes at a slant so the citizens will not know what part of the wall they are aiming at. To counter this we should dig a ditch parallel to the walls not less than six meters<sup>1</sup> out from it and as deep underground as the foundations of the wall. This will certainly intercept anyone trying to undermine the wall. We may then attack by flooding them out with water or suffocating them with smoke. Often enough by lying down and placing one's ear on the ground, now in one place, now in another, one can detect sounds deep down. Beginning with such indications, one can make a more accurate investigation and then take measures to counter the mining. This is applicable whether the miners have dug all the way up to the wall or not. If they are trying to get inside, we may block their entrance, and if they have already gotten inside, we may cut off their retreat.

The earth shoveled out of the ditch should not be thrown back toward the wall but on the other side of the ditch, where it will serve to protect our men doing the digging from being hit by arrows. It will also aid in keeping the wall from being attacked, since the besiegers will find their approach to the walls blocked by the piles of dirt and then the ditch.

What we have said applies if the city is not encircled by a ditch, for if there is one, then we need simply deepen it to intercept anyone digging through. If, however, the besieged garrison has been grossly negligent, and the enemy have approached without being detected and made a breach in the wall, then we should hastily construct another wall a short distance inside covering the damaged section in both directions, beginning, that is, from the still solid wall on the one side and connecting it with the other. This second wall should be shaped like a triangle with

τρίγωνον μιᾷς λειπούσης πλευρᾶς ἦν ποιεῖ τὸ πολεμούμενον τεῖχος, ὥς, εἶγε καὶ τούτου περιγένοιτο οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸ περιγενήσονται καινοῦ κτίσματος. οὔτε γὰρ πετροβόλους μηχανήμασι κατ' αὐτοῦ χρήσαιντο, οὔτ' ἄλλως εἰσιέναι δυνήσονται  
60 κατ' αὐτὸ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ τεύχους βαλλόμενοι.

Τὰς δὲ διωρυκτῆρας καλουμένας χελώνας ὅπως γίνονται ἐν τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς ἡμῖν ἐκπεπόνηται· ὅπως δὲ χρή κατ' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων γνωσόμεθα. ῥητέον δὲ πρότερον ὅπως οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν κατὰ χελωνῶν ἡγωνίζοντο. ποτὲ μὲν ὕδατα ἄνωθεν θερμὰ  
65 χέουσιν αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ δὲ πίσσαν διαλυθεῖσαν πυρί, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ πυρὶ ταύτας ἀνάπτουσι. τὰ πλείστα δὲ δοκοῦς τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες καὶ ξίφος περιθέντες κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον κατ' αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζουσι· τινὲς δὲ τέφραν ἢ ἄσβεστον λελυμένην κατὰ τῶν ἐλκόντων τὰς χελώνας ἄνωθεν ἀποπέμπουσι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν. ἡμεῖς  
70 δὲ καὶ τι πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξεύρομεν, ἃ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἂν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργήσειεν. διὸ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν.

Καὶ πρότερόν γε ὅτι χρή τὰς χελώνας κατασκευαζόμενας ὁρῶντας τοῦ τεύχους καταστοχάζεσθαι καθ' οὗ πάντως ἐλεύσονται, ὅθεν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑφάσματα τινα ἐκ τριχῶν ἢ ἐρίων ἢ καὶ λίνων ἐπὶ  
M f. 111 75 τούτῳ ποιήσομεν πρὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων | χαλὰν ἄνωθεν, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔχοντα ὅσον ἂν τις ἐθέλοι, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὅπόσον καὶ σκέπειν ἀπὸ τῶν βελῶν δύναται τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους ἐφεσθηκότας. τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα ὑφάσματα ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀποδῆσαντες πασσάλους τὰ κάτω τοῦ ὑφάσματος πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀποπέμψομεν ἐρειδομένοις τῷ  
80 τείχει, ὥς μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν τῶν πολεμίων πάσχειν ἡμᾶς σκεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑφασμάτων, καὶ ἡμᾶς μὴ κωλύεσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ πλησιάζωσι τῷ τείχει, ἢ τὴν τάφρον καταχωννύντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλως μηχανὰς τινὰς κατὰ τοῦ τεύχους προσφέροντες. πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀσπίσιν ἐαυτοὺς κατακαλύψαντες  
85 τολμῶσι κατόπιν τῶν πολιορκητικῶν μηχανημάτων κατὰ τοῦ τεύχους χωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόναις, οἱ δὲ βέλεσι τοὺς ἐφεσθηκότας ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους ἀποδιώκοντες, ἵνα μὴ ἄνωθεν τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἀντιπράττωνται. μήπω δὲ τὰ ὑφάσματα προπαρασκευασαμένους ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη ἀντ' αὐτῶν χρήσθαι τοῖς ἐγκοιμίστροις σκεπάσασιν οἷς οἱ πολῖται  
90 χρώνται καθεύδοντες, ἃ ἔστι καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπόριστα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρότερον.

Εἶτα τάφρον νυκτὸς ἀνορύξομεν τῆς προτέρας ἐνδοτέραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκείθεν λαμβανόμενον χοῦν ἔλκειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὥς μὴ ῥαδίως τὰς χελώνας κατὰ τοῦ τεύχους προσφέρεσθαι ἀλλὰ προσκόπτειν νῦν μὲν  
95 τῇ τάφρῳ, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῷ πρὸς τῷ τείχει χώματι. εἰ δὲ γε καὶ ταῦτα καθομαλίσειαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὴν χελώνην ὁδοιοιοῦντες, ῥαθυμία τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν μὲν ἀναπληροῦντες τὸν δὲ καθαίροντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀποβαλοῦνται θανάτῳ ἐκ τοῦ λίαν σύνεγγυς ἄνωθεν

one side left open, the side where the breached wall is.<sup>2</sup> Then, even if the enemy manage to hold on to this, they will not so easily take the new construction. They will not be able to employ their stone-throwing machines against it, nor is there any other way for them to get inside, since they come under fire from both sides of the wall.

In the section on siege operations we have discussed the construction of the mining shed called the tortoise. We shall now consider the means of defending against it. We must first say something about the way in which our predecessors dealt with the tortoise. They would pour boiling water down on them from above, or sometimes melted pitch, and they would try to set them on fire. Most of the time they would bring heavy timbers up on the wall, fit them with metal tips like a sword point, and drop them, point first, on the tortoise. Some would pour hot ashes or powdered lime from above on the men moving the tortoises. So much for our predecessors. We have discovered some things to add to their methods, which may prove even more effective against them. These we shall now explain.

When we observe the tortoises being prepared, the first thing we have to do is to figure out which points along the wall they are most likely to attack. At those points we can hang loosely down from the battlements special mats made of hair, wool, or linen. They can be as long as you want and wide enough to protect the men on the wall against missiles. The mats should be fixed by pegs to the top of the battlements and the rest thrown over the front hanging against the wall. The mats, then, protect our men against enemy missiles, but we are not prevented from action against them if they come close to the wall trying either to fill in the ditch or to move some siege engines against the wall. Enemy detachments, covering themselves with their shields, often try to approach the walls by following behind the siege engines, and with slings or arrows try to drive off the men posted on the walls to keep them from damaging the machines from above. But if we have not gotten the mats prepared ahead of time, we shall have to substitute the bed coverings which the citizens use when they sleep, which can easily be collected. So much for the first thing to be done.

Next, under cover of night we should dig another ditch closer in than the first. The dirt dug up there should then be piled up against the wall. This will make it difficult for them to move the tortoises against the wall, since they will be cut off by both the ditch and the bank of earth in front of the wall. Even if, owing to the negligence of our citizens, the enemy should level off these areas, fill in the ditch, clear the bank, and bring forward their tortoises, most of them will be killed, shot down

καταπολεμούμενοι. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς κωλύσεως καὶ  
 100 αὐτοὶ παρασκευασθησόμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, εἰ εἷς τι καὶ ἀπα-  
 ράσκεινοι ὄντες ἐτυγχάνομεν.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῇ συνεχείᾳ τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖν διακωλνώ-  
 μεθα, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τὴν χελώνην κωλύσομεν ἄνωθεν χῶμα πρὸ  
 αὐτῆς καταπέμποντες· οὐ γὰρ προβῆναι δυνήσεται κωλυομένη ὑπὸ  
 105 τοῦ χῶματος. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καρτεροῖεν οἱ πολέμιοι—δεδόσθω  
 γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο παντελεῖ ῥαθυμία ἢ ἀπογνώσει τῶν πολιτῶν—χόρτον ἢ  
 φρύγανα ἢ καλάμην ξηρὰν κατὰ τῶν χελωνῶν (ἄν)ωθεν καταπέμ-  
 ποντες διαπρήσομεν αὐτάς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο (περι)γενέσθαι δυνή-  
 σονται οἱ πολέμιοι, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα τολμητῖαι εἰσὶ καὶ (θανά)του κα-  
 M f. 111<sup>v</sup> ταφρονοῦτες, πολλοῦ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ὕλης ἀναπτομένου | τοῦ πυρὸς  
 111 καὶ καταφλέγειν δυναμένου τῇ διανομῇ οὐ μόνον τὴν χελώνην, κἂν  
 πῖλοι αὐταῖς διάβροχοι περιδέδενται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς.  
 ἐξαίρει δὲ καὶ μάλλον τὴν φλόγα καὶ φοβεράν ἀπεργάζεται τεάφη  
 ἐπιπασσομένη.

115 Τὴν δὲ φορὰν τῶν λίθων ἀποκρουόμεθα, οὓς δὴ (αἱ) πετροβόλοι  
 μηχαναὶ πέμπουσιν, οὕτως. σχοινία εἰς σχήματα δικτύων πλέξαντες  
 οὐκ ἔλαττον δακτύλου τὸ τάχος ἔχοντα χαλῶμεν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ δυσὶ πῆ-  
 χεσι τῶν τειχῶν προβαλλόμενα καὶ μεταφερόμενα ἐπὶ τὸν πᾶσχοντα  
 τόπον· τῇ γὰρ ἐνδόσει τούτων τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς κινήσεως τῶν λίθων  
 120 ἀποκρουόμεθα.

Τὰ δὲ κατὰ χελωνῶν εἰρημένα κἂν τοῖς κριοῖς εἰκότως ἂν γέ-  
 νοιτο. κράτιστον δὲ καὶ λίθον μέγιστον διὰ τίνος μηχανῆς εἰς ὕψος  
 ἀναβιβάσαντες ἀφιέναι κατὰ τῆς χελώνης ἢ τοῦ κριοῦ. ἡ δὲ μηχανὴ  
 τοῦτον ἔχέτω τὸν τρόπον. ἔστω τις βάσις ξύλινος τετράγωνος, τροχιάς  
 125 ἔχουσα. ζυγοὶ δὲ ἀνὰ δύο τὰς πλευρὰς συνεχέτωσαν, στῦλοι δὲ καθ’  
 ἑκάστην γωνίαν ἐφεστηκότες καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποκλινόμενοι ὁμοίως  
 τοῖς κάτω ζυγοῖς συνδεδέσθωσαν. κεραία δὲ τις ἐκ μέσου τῆς βάσεως  
 κατὰ κάθετον ἀνατεινομένη συνεχέσθω ὑπὸ τῶν μεσαιτάτων τετρα-  
 γώνων ἃ δὴ ποιοῦσιν οἱ ζυγοὶ οἱ τὰ τετράγωνα συνέχοντες. ταύτη  
 130 τοίνυν τῇ ὀρθῇ κεραίᾳ συνδεδέσθω καὶ τις ἐτέρα πλαγία ἐκ μέσου  
 κουφιζομένη, ἥς τῶν ἄκρων τῷ μὲν ἀποδῆσαντες τὸν λίθον, τὸ δὲ κα-  
 θελκύσαντες, εἰς ὕψος τὸν λίθον ἀναβιβάσομεν, ἔστ’ ἂν κατὰ κορυφὴν  
 τοῦ μηχανήματος γενόμενος ἀφεθῇ. ἀφίεται δὲ οὕτως· τὰ συνέχοντα  
 τὸν λίθον σχοινία εἰς ἓν συναχθέντα διὰ τίνος καρύου κρατείσθω κά-  
 135 τωθεν, ὥστε ἀφιεμένου τοῦ σχοινίου τὸν λίθον καταφέρεισθαι.

at close range from above. Not only that, but while we are keeping them at bay we may be getting ourselves ready for any future operations, especially if we are still unprepared in some areas.

But if the persistence of the attack prevents us from digging the new ditch, we may nonetheless slow down the tortoise by throwing dirt down in front of it, for it will not be able to move forward over piles of dirt. If the enemy still persist in attacking—for we must admit that even this could come about because of the utter negligence or despair of the citizens—then we may throw down hay, wood, or dry reeds upon the tortoises and set them on fire. There is no way in which the enemy can prevent this, no matter how bold and death-defying they may be. By adding fuel we can make the fire larger and make it spread so it can burn up not only the tortoise, even though it be sheathed in wet felt, but also all the men in it. Sulphur sprinkled over it will cause a terrifying flame to flare up.

We may soften the impact of stones thrown from siege artillery in the following manner. Ropes, a finger or more thick, may be woven into nets and hung down over the walls a bit more than a meter out from them at any point where damage is being done.<sup>3</sup> These will yield and check the full momentum of the stones.

What has been said about the tortoises may also be applied to the battering rams. The most effective method is to lift a large stone high in the air with a suitable machine and then drop it on the tortoise or the ram. The machine is made in the following way. There should be a square wooden base mounted on wheels. One or two braces should connect the sides. Vertical pieces should then be set into each corner, inclined in toward each other and connected by braces corresponding to those on the main frame. Set a pole vertically in the center of the frame, supported by the squares in the middle formed by the braces joining the main square. Now, on top of this straight pole tie another beam, raising it up by the middle. The stone should be tied to one end of this beam and raised up by pulling down the other end. When it is as high as the machine will permit, it is dropped. This is how it is released. The ropes holding the stone are fed through a kind of pulley and held together under the machine. When the rope is let go, the stone will fall.

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<sup>1</sup>Ten picheis.

<sup>2</sup>See Fig. 3, *infra*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup>Two picheis.



13: 2 πῶς . . . πολιορκούντων De: πῶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι K-R: om. codd. || 6 σωρηδόν De: lac. 3-4 litt. codd.: ὁμαδόν conj. Oldfather teste Erck: στοιχηδόν K-R || 27 ἐπιστοιβαζόμενον K-R: ἐπιστοιβάζομεν MP || 46 διαμένειν K-R: διαμένει MP || 50 καταλαμβάνομεν K-R: καταλάβομεν MP || 51 τοῦ τείχους K-R: τῶν ἐναντίων MP || 58 καινοῦ M: καιροῦ P || 97 τὸν K-R: τὴν MP || 100 εἰ εἰς τι De: εἰς εἴτι MP: εἰ εἰσέτι conj. Erck: εἰς ἅττα K-R || 107 ἄνωθεν K-R: ..ῶθεν M: ....εν P || 108 περιγενέσθαι K-R: ....γενέσθαι M: .....ενέσθαι P || 109 θανάτου K-R: ....τον MP || 115 αἱ K-R: om. MP || 116 δικτύων K-R: διτύων MP || 131 τῷ Erck: τὸ MP: τοῦ K-R

ιδ'.

### Περὶ τακτικῆς.

Τακτικὴ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη καθ' ἣν τις πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων μεθ' ὀπλων συντάξει τε καὶ κινήσῃ κατὰ καιρὸν δύναται. τῆς δὲ τακτικῆς  
5 μέρη ἐστὶ τέσσαρα· σύνταξις ἀνδρῶν πρὸς πόλεμον ἐπιτήδειος, ὀπλων διανομὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου χρεῖαν ἀρμόδιος, κίνησις ἐνόπλου στρατεύματος τῷ καιρῷ πρέπουσα, οἰκονομία πολέμου, προσώπων τε καὶ πραγμάτων, τρόπων τε καὶ αἰτιῶν ἐξέτασιν μετὰ τοῦ συμ-  
φέροντος ἔχουσα.

10 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολέμων εἴδη ἐστὶ δύο, ναυμαχία τε καὶ πεζομαχία, ἀνάγκη καθ' ἑκάτερον τούτων δεῖξαι τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς μέρη. οὐ γὰρ  
M f. 112 ὁμοίως ἔν τε πεζομαχίᾳ καὶ | ναυμαχίᾳ συντιθέμεθα, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς σχήμασι χρώμεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχομεν διαίρεσιν τοῦ στρατεύματος οὐδὲ τοὺς ἡγουμένους οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη δια-  
15 φόρων ὄντων τῶν εἰδῶν τῆς μάχης διαφόρῳ καὶ τῷ εἴδει τῆς τακτικῆς χρήσασθαι. ἵνα δὲ μὴ συγκεχυμένος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ᾗ, ἰδίως περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων διαληψόμεθα, καὶ πρότερόν γε περὶ πεζομαχίας.

Τεσσάρων τοίνυν ὄντων τρόπων καθ' οὓς ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι ἐπὶ γῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων διηγωνίζοντο, καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν πεζοί, οἱ δὲ ἔφιπποι, οἱ δὲ  
20 δι' ἀρμάτων, οἱ δὲ δι' ἐλεφάντων τοὺς πολέμους ἐποιοῦν, ὁ μὲν περὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἀρμάτων τρόπος ἔν τῷ παρόντι ἀφείσθω· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν, ὅποτε μηδὲ μέχρι ῥημάτων τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς σώζεται; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἰδίως καλουμένης πεζικῆς καὶ ἵππικῆς δυνάμεως ὁ λόγος γινέσθω. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καλῶς γυμνασμένους  
25 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας χρήσασθαι καὶ τούτων ἐπιτηδείως ἔξειν πρὸς τὰ λοιπά.

Ἵνα δὲ ἱκανῶς ὁ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ἔχη λόγος, ῥητέον ὅτι παντὸς τοῦ ἐν ἐκστρατείᾳ πλῆθους τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ μάχιμον, ὃ καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν καὶ ἐνοπλον καὶ στρατεύμα καὶ στρατὸς ὀνομάζεται, τὸ δὲ τεχνικόν,

## 14.

### Tactics.<sup>1</sup>

Tactics is a science which enables one to organize and maneuver a body of armed men in an orderly manner. Tactics may be divided into four parts: proper organization of men for combat; distribution of weapons according to the needs of each man; movement of an armed body of troops in a manner appropriate to the occasion; the management of war, of personnel and materials, including an examination of ways and causes as well as of what is advantageous.

There are two kinds of war, at sea and on land. The tactics appropriate to each must be examined separately. We do not get organized in the same way for fighting on foot and fighting in ships. We do not use the same formations or the same disposition of troops. The officers and their titles are different. These two forms of warfare are so different that completely different tactical methods have to be employed. To avoid confusion, then, we shall discuss each form of warfare by itself, taking land warfare first.

Now, then, there are four principal ways in which men have fought one another in the past. They have waged war on foot, on horseback, in chariots, and on elephants. In these pages we shall not bother to discuss fighting with elephants and chariots. Why talk about them when even the terminology for their tactics has become obsolete? It is on the infantry and the cavalry forces, as they are each called, that we shall concentrate. It is sufficient if a person has been well trained in these, for he can make use of them as they stand and will be able to adapt easily to other situations.

To aid in understanding our treatise on tactical matters, let it be noted that the entire force on campaign is comprised of the following. First are the combat troops, the force armed for offensive action, which is called an armed force or an army.

- 30 οἶον λιθοτόμοι, χαλκεῖς, τέκτονες καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, οὓς οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰς  
πολιορκίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα συνεπιφέρειν ἀνάγκη, τὸ δὲ χορηγὸν τῶν  
ἀναγκαίων, οἶον ἄρτοπῶλαι, οἰνοπῶλαι, κρεοπῶλαι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

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14: K-R 88, Erck 40.

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14: Cf. Aelianum, 2.

ιε'.

### Περὶ φάλαγγος.

- Φάλαγξ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνόπλων ποιά σύνταξις εἰς ἐχθρῶν  
ἄμυναν. καὶ σχήματα μὲν φάλαγγος ποικίλα, οἶον κύκλος, ῥόμβος,  
5 ῥομβοειδές, ἔμβολός τε καὶ κοιλέμβολος, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα,  
περὶ ὧν λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀφείσθω διὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἄρτι πρὸς  
τακτικὴν ἀγύμναστον. ἃ δὲ τούτων μάλιστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστι γνῶρι-  
μα καὶ πρὸς παράδοσιν τοῦ παρόντος μαθήματος ἐπιτηδειότερα ταῦτ'  
εἰπεῖν καὶ διδάξαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δεῖξαι τὴν τακτικὴν ὡς οἶόν τε διὰ  
10 βραχέων πειράσομαι. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαληψόμεθα.

- Γνώριμα δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς λέγω, οὐχ ὅτι νῦν τακτικὴ κε-  
χρήμεθα, — τίνας γὰρ ἂν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς παρούσης συγγραφῆς ἐδεή-  
θημεν; — ἀλλ' ὅτι νῦν πολλάκις παραταττόμενοι τετραγῶνους τε καὶ  
ἐπιμηκεστέροις χρῶνται τοῖς σχήμασι. τὸ γὰρ ὅπως δεῖ συντετάχθαι  
15 τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας φάλαγγας καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν  
M f. 112' ἐξῆς μαθησόμεθα, οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ μέρος κατὰ θεωρίαν | τακτικὴν ἡμῖν  
ὑπολέλειπται. ἐξῆς δὲ ῥητέον ἐκ πόσων καὶ οἶων μερῶν καὶ ὅπως ἢ τε  
τετράγωνος καὶ ἑτερομήκης συνίσταται φάλαγξ, καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον  
τῶν μερῶν ὀνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, καὶ πρότερόν γε  
20 περὶ τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτῆς, αἵ τὸ πᾶν συνέχουσι τοῦ στρατεύματος.

- Οἱ παλαιοὶ ζῶφ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν ἀπεικάζοντες  
τὴν μὲν κατ' ὄψιν τῶν πολεμίων πρόσωπον ὀνομάζουσι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν  
καὶ μέτωπον καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ στόμα καὶ ἄραρον καὶ πρωτολοχίαν  
ὀνομάζουσιν. τὴν δὲ κατόπιν καὶ τελευταίαν οὐράν, τὰς δὲ παρ'  
25 ἑκάτερα οὐ μόνον κοινῶς καθάπερ τὰς εἰρημένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίως  
πλευράς ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς (τῶν) τοῦ ζῶφου πλευρῶν ὀνομάζουσιν, καὶ τὸ  
μὲν μεσαίτατον τοῦ μετώπου, καθ' ὃ ἡ διχοτομία τοῦ παντός στρα-  
τεύματος ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου ἐπ' οὐράν γίνεται ὁμφαλὸν λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ  
παρ' ἑκάτερα τῆς διχοτομίας δύο μέγιστα μέρη τῆς φάλαγγος κέρας

Then come the technical groups such as stonecutters, metalworkers, carpenters, and the like, who need to be on hand for siege operations and for other special work. Third, there are the supply services which provide bread, wine, meat, and other necessities.

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<sup>1</sup>In this and subsequent chapters (esp. 15, 18, 21–24, 31) the author derives much from the ancient tactical writers: Aelian, ed. H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller*, 2, 1 (Leipzig, 1855); Asclepiodotus, ed. *ibid.*, and also with English translation by Illinois Greek Club, *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onesander* (Loeb Classical Library, London–New York, 1923); Arrian, ed. J. Scheffer, *Arriani Tactica et Mauricii artis militaris libri duodecim* (Uppsala, 1664).

## 15.

### The Phalanx.

A phalanx is a formation of armed men designed to hold off the enemy. It may assume a variety of shapes: the circle, the lozenge, the rhomboid, the wedge, the hollow wedge, and many others which we shall not bother to discuss in this work, since very few people nowadays have any practical knowledge of tactics. I shall here attempt briefly and as best I can to concentrate my remarks and explanations upon those aspects of tactics with which the general public is familiar and which best fit the purpose of the present study. I shall then pass on to other topics.

When I say that people are familiar with these things, it is not because we are actually making use of tactics now—if that were so, what purpose would be served by this book?—but because nowadays troops are so often drawn up in square or oblong formations. For in due order we shall learn how the soldiers are to be formed in phalanxes of those kinds, and we shall omit nothing that has any bearing on tactical theory. Next we have to speak of the number and kind of parts that constitute a square or oblong phalanx and how they are formed, then the names for each section and the titles of the officers. We should first discuss the flanks of the phalanx, which serve to enclose the entire force.

The ancients compared the phalanx in its movements to a living body. The part looking toward the enemy they called the face, sometimes also the forehead, the eye, the mouth, the joint, or the first rank. The last part to the rear was the tail. The two sides they called the flanks, not only from the common way of speaking, as with the above terms, but also in a special manner by analogy with the flanks of a living being. The point right in the middle of the front, which bisects the whole force from front to rear, is called the navel. The two principal parts of the phalanx along both sides of that dividing point are called the right horn and the left horn, the

30 δεξιὸν καὶ κέρας εὐώνυμον λέγουσι, καὶ δεξιὸν μὲν τὸ ἐν δεξιᾷ τεταγμένον, εὐώνυμον δὲ τὸ ἐν εὐωνύμοις.

Ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἱσταμένους κατὰ πλευρὰς ἀλλήλοις συντετάχθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρώντας, καὶ τούτοις τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔπessθαι. συντιθέασι δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν πλῆθος εἰς τὸν  
 35 ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν ἄκρων τόπον, οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ στίχους ὀρθίους τε καὶ ἐγκαρσίους τοῖς ἄκροις συννεύοντας, ὥστε ἕκαστον τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ δύο στίχους τετάχθαι. λέγω δὲ ὀρθιον μὲν στίχον, ὃς καὶ λόχος προσαγορεύεται, τὸν ἄφ' ἐνὸς οἴου δὴ ποτε πρωτοστατοῦντος ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπέναντι καὶ τελευταῖον  
 40 λαμβανόμενον, ὃς οὐραγὸς ὀνομάζεται, ἐγκάρσιον δὲ τὸν ἄφ' ἐνὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπέναντι τῆς ἀριστερᾶς λαμβανόμενον ἢ τοῦναντίον, ὃς καὶ ζυγὸς λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κατὰ νῶτον τῶν βοῶν ἐπικειμένου ξύλου ἐπειδὰν ἀροτριῶσιν ἢ καὶ ἀμάξας ἔλκουσιν, ὥστε ἕκαστον τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος δυσὶ τάξεσι περιέχεσθαι,  
 45 ζυγῷ τε καὶ στίχῳ, ὅφ' ὧν στηριζόμενοι δυσκαταγώνιστοι γίνονται. καὶ ζυγοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ὅποσοι καὶ ἄνδρες καθ' ἓνα στίχον εἰσὶ τεταγμένοι, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη ἰσαριθμούς εἶναι τοὺς τε ζυγοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς στίχους.

Στοιχεῖν δὲ λέγεται ἐπὶ μέρους μὲν τὸ τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ πάντας  
 M f. 113 50 τῶν στίχων | κατὰ μίαν εὐθείαν κεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντας, ὁμοίως καὶ ζυγεῖν τὸ τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ πάντας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζυγοῦ κατὰ μίαν εὐθείαν κεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις τῷ αὐτῷ διαστήματι ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντας, καθόλου δὲ ὅταν πάντες οἱ τε στίχοι καὶ οἱ ζυγοὶ κατ' εὐθείαν κεῖνται τοῖς ἄκροις.

55 Καὶ μῆκος μὲν φάλαγγος λέγεται τὸ ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν πλευρῶν διάστημα λαμβανόμενον, βάθος δὲ τὸ ἐκάστου στίχου, καὶ πάντες μὲν οἱ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ζυγὸν τεταγμένοι πρωτοστάται τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον ἐπιστάται τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν οἱ κατὰ τὸν τρίτον πρωτοστάται τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, κἀκεῖνοι ἐπι-  
 60 στάται τῶν ἰδίων πρωτοστατῶν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως μέχρι τῶν οὐραγῶν.

Ἐκαστος δὲ τῶν στίχων καθ' ἑαυτὸν λόχος προσαγορεύεται καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀφηγούμενος λοχαγός, οἱ δὲ δύο λόχοι διλοχία καλοῦνται καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος διλοχίτης, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες λόχοι τετραρχία καὶ ὁ  
 65 τούτου ἡγούμενος τετράρχης, τὸ δὲ δις τοσοῦτον ταξιαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος ταξιαρχίας, τὸ δὲ δις πάλιν τοσοῦτον σύνταγμα καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος συνταγματάρχης, τὰ δὲ δύο συντάγματα καλοῦνται πεντακοσιαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος πεντακοσιάρχης, αἱ δὲ δύο πεντακοσιαρχίαι καλοῦνται χιλιαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος  
 70 χιλιαρχίας, αἱ δύο χιλιαρχίαι μεραρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος μεράρχης, αἱ δύο μεραρχίαι φαλαγγαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀφηγούμενος φαλαγγάρχης. συνάγεται οὖν ἐντεῦθεν μέρη μικρά τε καὶ μεγάλα τῷ

one designating the troops formed on the right side, the other those on the left.

The troops stationed in the front must line up along the side facing the enemy, and the others should form behind them. The other men in the unit position themselves in the space between the two flanks in an orderly manner, in ranks which are straight across and at the same time at right angles to the flanks, so that each soldier takes his stand in two lines. What I mean is that there is a straight row, which is called a file, which goes from any one of the men in the first line of the phalanx all the way back to the last in line, who is named the rear guard. The oblique row or rank goes from one of the men on the right flank all the way to one on the left, or the other way around. This row is also called a yoke, by analogy with the wooden yoke placed on the neck of oxen when plowing or pulling a wagon. Each soldier in the whole army, then, occupies a position in two lines, the rank and the file, and by taking a firm stance there the whole unit becomes more formidable. There should be as many ranks as there are men lined up in each file, so that the ranks by themselves, as well as the files, must be of equal strength.

They are said to be lined up in the proper position when everyone all down the file stands in a straight line equidistant from one another and parallel to the edges. In like manner, the ranks are properly formed when everyone all along the same rank is in a straight line parallel to the edges and equidistant from one another. The formation is complete when all the files and ranks stand in straight lines parallel to the edges.

The width of the phalanx means the distance between the two flanks, and its depth is that of each file. All the soldiers stationed in the first rank are named proto-states in relation to those behind them, and those in second place are called epistates in relation to those ahead. In the same way, the men in the third row are called proto-states in relation to those behind them, but epistates in relation to their own proto-states, and so all the others in like order down to the rear guard.

Furthermore, each file by itself is called a squad and its head a squad leader. Two squads are called a double squad and its head a double-squad leader. Four squads form a tetrarchy, and its leader is a tetrarch. Twice that number is a taxiarchy, whose chief is a taxiarch. Twice that number, in turn, is a syntagma under the command of a syntagmatarch. Two syntagmata make up a pentekosiarchy led by a pentekosiarch. Two pentekosiarchies are called a chiliarchy, which is commanded by a chiliarch. Two chiliarchies make a merarchy under the command of a merarch. Two of these, in turn, form a phalangarchy commanded by a phalangarch. These, then, are the small and the larger units, which make ten in number, as well as their

ἀριθμῷ δέκα καὶ τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν ὁμοίως. ἐκ πόσων μὲν οὖν μερῶν καὶ οἷων ἡ φάλαγξ συνίσταται καὶ ὅπως σύγκειται, καὶ πῶς  
75 ἑκαστον τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς ὀνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, διὰ τούτων ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν παραδέδοται.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ παρούσα διαίρεσις γέγονε τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, διὰ τὸ ῥαδίως τελεῖσθαι τὰ κελευόμενα. πᾶν γὰρ πλῆθος τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ δυσπεριάγωγον καὶ διὰ  
80 τοῦτο χρή κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν ἔθος πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς ἐξηγουμένους τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ τὸν μὲν λοχαγὸν ἀπευθύνειν τὸν ἴδιον στίχον καὶ τηρεῖν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διαστήματα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἡγουμένων ἑκαστον συλλοχεῖν τοὺς ἰδίους στίχους καὶ διὰ πάντων καταλοχεῖσθαι τὸ πᾶν τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἔστι δὲ συλλοχισμὸς μὲν ὅταν λόχος λόχῳ  
85 οἰκείως παρατεθῇ, καταλοχισμὸς δὲ ὅταν πάντες οἱ λόχοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκείως ἔχωσιν.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρωτοστάτας, οὓς καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομάζομεν, διαφέρειν παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔν τε ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ  
M f. 113<sup>v</sup> ῥώμῃ σώματος | διὰ τὴν κατ' ὄψιν καὶ ἐπὶ χειρᾶς μάχην καὶ τὰ βάρη  
90 τῶν ἐπιφερομένων αὐτοῖς ὄπλων. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μερίζοντας ἡγεμόνας οὐχ ἥττον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην ἔχειν τοῦ σώματος, μάλιστα δὲ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμου καὶ φρονήσει διεννηοχένοι τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τούτων ἑκαστον ἕτερον ἑτέρου ὀπόσον καὶ πλείονων ἄρχουσι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρωτοστάτας τοὺς ἐπιστάτας αὐτῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστι  
95 τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ τεταγμένους, καὶ γὰρ πιπτόντων τινῶν ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν πρωτοστατούντων αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων εἰσίσιασι τάξιν.

Τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς οὐκ ἐλάττους μὲν εἶναι τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τοῦ σώματος τῶν κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον ζυγὸν τεταγμένων,  
100 μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ μὲν ἵνα τὴν τάξιν τηρῶσι καὶ συνέχῃσι τοὺς ἐντὸς, τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ ἀγῶνος συνωθῶσι τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ὥστε βαρυντέραν καὶ δυσανταγώνιστον τὴν φάλαγγα τῇ πιλήσει κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τρίτον ἵν' αἰφνιδίον κατὰ νῶτον τῆς φάλαγγος προσπιπτόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἔστιν ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπιστραφέντες κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρωτοστατούντων ἀναπληρώσωσι χρεῖαν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς οὐραγοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν στίχων τεταγμένους εἴτ' οὖν τὰς πλευράς, διὰ τὰς ὑπερκεράσεις τε καὶ ὑπερφαλαγγώσεις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ προσέτι τὰς αἰφνιδίους ἐπιθέσεις αὐ-  
110 τῶν, αἱ πολλάκις καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν γίνονται. κατὰ δὲ πέμπτην τάξιν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμιλοχιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀπευθύνειν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς στίχους, συνωθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ὁμοίως τοῖς οὐραγοῖς, οὐ δυναμένων ἐκείνων | τὸ πᾶν βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος συνωθεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου ζυγοῦ, εἶτα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου, εἶτα τοὺς

commanders. Enough now has been explained about the number and nature of the units that make up the phalanx, about its organization, and about the terms used for each unit and the titles of its commanders.

It should be understood that the purpose of this division of the army and the assignment of so many officers is to facilitate the execution of orders. For it is difficult to maneuver the entire force by a single word of command. For this reason the army must follow the Laconian practice of having a large number of officers. Each squad leader directs his own file and maintains the proper distances in it. Each one of the other officers should see to the proper alignment of his own files, and in this way all of them will effect the correct formation of the entire army. The squads are properly aligned when each is in its own position next to the other, and the formation is complete when all the squads are at the right distance from one another.

The front rank men, whom we also call ilarchs and squad leaders, should stand out from the rest of the army because of their courage and physical strength, for they have to bear the brunt of the hand-to-hand fighting and wear such heavy armor. The other major officers should be no less distinguished for courage and physical strength. They should also be far superior to the others in combat experience and good sense, each one according to his rank and the number of troops under his command. Next in quality to the protostates should be the epistates, that is, those lined up in the second rank. For, if any of the protostates should fall in action, they are the ones who move up to take their places.

The rear guard should possess no less courage and physical strength than the men stationed in the second rank. They should also be notably superior to other troops in experience and good sense, for they are responsible for forming and keeping the men in their place in line. In action, moreover, they must keep the men ahead of them in close order, so that the phalanx may maintain its compact formation and present a stronger and more formidable front to the enemy. Third, in case of a surprise attack by the enemy on the rear of the phalanx, they may have to turn about and act as protostates in repelling the enemy.

After the rear guard come the troops stationed on the files on the sides, for they must guard the flanks against envelopments and encirclements as well as surprise attacks by the enemy, which are often directed against them. Fifth in importance are the leaders of half files, who help in maintaining order in the files and who keep the men in front of them in close order, just as the rear guard who, by themselves, cannot tighten up the ranks of the whole phalanx. Next to consider are the



115 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους οἱ  
λοιποὶ τῶν ἀρτίων ζυγῶν ἀναπληρωθήσονται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ τέταρτος,  
ὁ ἕκτος, ὁ ὄγδοος, καὶ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τῶν οὐραγῶν.

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MP VSB (partim) 15: K-R 90, Erck 41.

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15: 21 οἱ MP: ὅτι οἱ VSB || ζῶψ VS: ζῶων B: ζῶον MP || 21-24 ἀπεικάζοντες . . . ὀνο-  
μάζουσιν MP: εἰκάζοντες· τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πρόσωπον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ στόμα, τὸ δὲ κέρας καὶ  
κεφαλὴν, ἄλλο δὲ ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ ὄμφαλον, καὶ ἄλλο πλευρὰν καὶ οὐρὰν ἄλλο VSB || 24 κατόπιν  
K-R: κατόψιν MP || τὰς K-R: τὰ MP || 26 τῶν K-R: om. codd. || 28 λέγουσι codd.: λέγουσι καὶ  
ἀραρός conj. K-R, Erck ex Asclepiodoto, 2, 6 || 39 πρωταστατοῦντος K-R: προστατοῦντος M:  
προσταγοῦντος P || 40 τὸν ἀφ' K-R: τῶν MP || 57 πρωτοστάται Erck ex Asclepiodoto, 2, 3, et alibi:  
προστάται MP || 59 πρωτοστάται Erck: προστάται MP || 60 πρωτοστατῶν Erck: προστατῶν MP ||  
69 χιλιαρχία K-R: χιλιαρχίαι MP || 72-73 τῷ ἀριθμῷ K-R: τῶν ἀριθμῶν MP || 84-85 ὅταν . . .  
καταλοχισμὸς δὲ M: om. P || 85 οἰκειῶς M: οἰκείους P || 94 πρωτοστάτας K-R: προστάτας MP ||  
113 τὸ πᾶν inc. A

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15: Cf. Aelianum, 7-9; Asclepiodotum, 2-3; Arrianum, p. 10-16.

ις'.

(Περὶ ὀπλίσεως.)

Τούτων δὲ οὕτως συντεταγμένων χρὴ τοὺς μὲν πρωτοστάτας  
κεχρησθαι τοῖς φυλακτικοῖς τῶν ὀπλῶν ὑφ' ὧν μάλιστα τοῦ σώματος  
5 τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέρη φυλάττεται. καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀσπίδων διά-  
μετρον οὐκ ἔλαττον εἶναι σπιθαμῶν ἑπτὰ, ὥστε τὰς ἀσπίδας εἰς ἄλ-  
λήλας καλῶς συντιθεμένας καταφράττειν καὶ κατακαλύπτειν καὶ  
φυλάττειν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς τὸ μηδένα ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν τῶν ἐναντίων  
παθεῖν. τὰς δὲ γε τῶν πρωτοστατοῦντων μάλιστα ἀσφαλεστέρας  
M f. 114 10 τυγχάνειν, ἔχειν | δὲ αὐτὰς μόνας πέταλον σιδηροῦν κατὰ μέσον τῆς  
ἀσπίδος εἰς κύκλον γραφόμενον ἐν ᾧ ξίφος ἀνεστάτω οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ  
ὑψος δακτύλων τεσσάρων, ἵν' οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐναντίους φοβῇ πόρρωθεν  
ὁρῶντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τραυματίζη κακῶς εἰς πείραν ἐρχόμενον.

Τὰς δὲ περικεφαλαίας καὶ τοὺς θώρακας καὶ τὰς περικνημίδας  
15 εἶναι μὲν καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον βάρος ἔχοντα ὥστε μήτε ῥαδίως  
πάσχειν αὐτὰς μήτ' ἄγαν τῷ βάρει λυπεῖν καὶ πρὸ καιροῦ καταδαπα-

men in the third rank, then those in the fifth, in the seventh, and so on in order. The rest of the troops fill up the even-numbered ranks, fourth, sixth, eighth, and so on to the rear guard.

## 16.

### [Armament.]

When the troops have been formed as described, we must equip the front rank men with defensive armor to protect those parts of the body that are most exposed in action. Their shields should be no less than one and a half meters in diameter,<sup>1</sup> so that when they are joined together they form a solid, defensive protection behind which the army can hide without anyone being injured by enemy missiles. The shields of the protostates should be particularly solid, and they alone should have an iron circlet embossed in the center of the shield in which a spike at least four fingers long should be fixed,<sup>2</sup> both to unnerve the enemy when they see it from a distance and to inflict serious injury when used at close range.

Armor for the head, breastplates, and shin guards should be heavy enough to ward off injury but not so heavy as to be burdensome and wear down the strength of

νάν τήν τῶν στρατιωτῶν δύναμιν. εἶναι δέ τοιαῦτα οὐ μόνον διὰ τήν  
 ὕλην λυσιτελοῦντα ἀλλὰ καί διὰ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τήν λειότητα, ἵνα διο-  
 λισθαιὴν τὰ βέλη προσπίπτοντα, ἔτι δέ καί διὰ τήν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος  
 20 ἀπόστασιν. δεῖ γάρ αὐτὰ ἐπικεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐπὶ χιτωνίσκων, ὃ τινες  
 ποιοῦσιν τὸ βάρος τῶν ὀπλῶν φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἱματίων οὐκ ἔλατ-  
 τον δακτύλον τὸ πάχος ἐχόντων, τὸ μὲν ἵνα μὴ λυπῇ προσψάνοντα τῇ  
 σκληρότητι ἀλλ' ἐφαρμόττοι τῷ σώματι καλῶς ἐπικείμενα, τὸ δέ ἵνα  
 μὴ ῥαδίως ἄπτηται τῶν σαρκῶν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βέλη ἀλλ' ἐμποδί-  
 25 ζοιτο, τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς εἴρηται, διὰ τὸν σιδήρον καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τήν  
 λειότητα, τοῦτο δέ καί διὰ τήν πρὸς τήν σάρκα τοῦ σιδήρου ἀπό-  
 στασιν. δεῖ δέ τήν περικεφαλαίαν καὶ ξίφος κατὰ κορυφήν ἔχειν οὐκ  
 ἔλαττον τὸ ὕψος δακτύλων τριῶν, | ἵνα εἰ τύχοι ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς οἱ  
 στρατιῶται καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζονται καὶ φοβερώτεροι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
 30 διαδείκνυνται.

Τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἔχειν μῆκος ὅποσον ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν φέρειν δύ-  
 νηται, ὡσαύτως δέ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον ζυγὸν καὶ τρίτον καὶ  
 τέταρτον τεταγμένους, ὥστε τὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ζυγῶν δόρατα προπί-  
 πτειν τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ πρὸς τὰ  
 35 τοῦ δευτέρου τοσοῦτον προέχειν ὅποσον καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ζυγὸς τοῦ δευ-  
 τέρου καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως ἕως τοῦ τετάρτου ζυγοῦ· συμβαίνει δέ ὡς τὰ  
 πολλὰ τοῦτο πυκνουμένης τῆς φάλαγγος ἀνὰ πῆχυν ἕνα. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
 τοιαύτη σύνταξις τῶν δοράτων λέγεται Μακεδονική· ταύτη γὰρ τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας φασὶ χρήσασθαι.

40 Τινὲς δὲ τὰ δόρατα τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μακρότερα  
 τοῦ πρώτου ἐποίησαν ὥστε τήν προβολήν τῶν δοράτων τοῦ τε πρώτου  
 ζυγοῦ τοῦ τε δευτέρου ἴσην εἶναι διὰ τὸ δύο δόρατα καθ' ἑνὸς ἀγωνί-  
 ζεσθαι τῶν ὑπεναντίων. τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τὸν τέταρτον ζυγὸν τεταγμένους  
 οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς κατέχειν ἐπέτρεψαν δόρατα πλὴν τῶν προτέρων  
 M f. 114<sup>v</sup> ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ ἴσως ἄμεινον βουλευσάμενοι οὐ | δόρατα, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 46 δοράτια καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ ὅσα διὰ χειρὸς βάλλεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 δύνανται—πλὴν τῶν ἄκρων στίχων τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ τῶν προσεχῶς  
 παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς ἄχρι τριῶν στίχων, ἔτι δέ καὶ τῶν οὐραγῶν καὶ  
 τῶν προσεχῶς παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς ἄχρι τριῶν ζυγῶν· δεῖ δέ τοὺς ἐπὶ  
 50 τοῦ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ τεταγμένους τὸν αὐτὸν καθοπλισμὸν  
 ἔχειν οὐ μόνον τοὺς οὐραγοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄκρους στίχους τῶν πλευ-  
 ρῶν—τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὠφελῆσαιεν τοὺς πρωτοστατοῦντας εἰς χειρὰς ἐχ-  
 θρῶν ἤκοντας τὰ δόρατα τῶν κατὰ μέσου τῆς φάλαγγος τεταγμένων.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν ὀπλῶν χρήσις τοιαύτη. εἰ δέ μὴ πάντες οἱ τῆς  
 55 φάλαγγος ἔχοιεν θώραξιν καὶ περικνημίσιν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πάν-  
 τως οἱ γε κατὰ τὸν πρότερον καὶ δεῦτερον ζυγὸν καὶ τὸν τελευταῖον  
 A f. 9 καὶ τῶν στίχων οἱ ἄκροι περιβα | λούνται ταῦτα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας  
 αἰτίας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ζάβαις καὶ θώραξι καὶ περικεφαλαίαις ταῖς ἐκ  
 πύλου καὶ βύρσης συντεθειμέναις. ὥς ἂν δέ μὴ λυπῇ ταῦτα τὸ σῶμα

the soldiers before they get into action. These should provide protection not only because of their material strength but because of their design and their smoothness, which should cause missiles to glance off and fall to the ground. There should also be a space between the armor and the body. It should not be worn directly over ordinary clothing, as some do to keep down the weight of the armor, but over a garment at least a finger thick. There are two reasons for this. Where it touches the body the hard metal may not chafe but may fit and lie comfortably upon the body. In addition, it helps to prevent the enemy missiles from hitting the flesh because of the iron, the design, and the smoothness, but also because the metal is kept away from the flesh. The helmet should have a spike on top no less than three fingers long; it makes our soldiers look more formidable to the enemy, and they might actually be able to use it as a weapon in the fighting.

The spears should be as long as can be carried by an individual in the second, third, or fourth rank of the formation. The spears of the first four ranks should stick out in front of the whole army. Those of the first rank will be out in front of those of the second by the same distance that the first rank stands ahead of the second, and so on through the fourth rank. When the phalanx is closed up, then, the distance should generally be about two-thirds of a meter. This type of formation with spears is called the Macedonian, for they are reputed to have made use of it.

Some have made the spears of the second rank longer than those of the first, so that the forward thrust of the spears of the first and second ranks would be equal and twice as many spears could be employed at one time against the enemy. Some have thought that the men stationed in the rank behind the fourth should also be armed with spears, although shorter than those of the men in front of them. Others have recommended, perhaps with better reason, that they should not have regular spears but javelins, light spears, and other weapons that can be thrown against the enemy. The files on the edges of the phalanx, however, and the three files in line next to them, as well as the rear guards and the three ranks right in front of them, should have the long spears. The rear guards and the files along the edges of the flanks should have the same armament as the troops stationed in the first and second ranks. What use will a set of long spears in the middle of the phalanx be to the protostates who are engaged in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy?

This is the manner of distributing the armament. If everyone in the phalanx cannot be equipped with breastplates and shin guards, at least the men in the first, second, and last ranks and those in the files on the flanks should certainly wear them for the reasons given above. The rest of the troops may be provided with coats of mail, breastplates, and head coverings fashioned of felt or leather. So that the rough material does not chafe the skin, they should wear padded garments under them, as

- 60 τῇ σκληρότητι, ὑποκεισθώσαν καὶ αὐτοῖς περιστηθίδια, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σιδηρῶν θωρακίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλέγομεν. ὠφελήσει γὰρ κἀνταῦθα τῇ παχύτητι ταῦτα, οὐ ῥαδίως τῶν βελῶν διερχομένων ἢ οὐ σφόδρα φθανόντων τὸ βάθος τοῦ σώματος. καὶ περὶ μὲν πεζικῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

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MP A VSB (partim) 16: K–R 100, Erck 45.

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16: 1 ιζ' M: om. AP || 2 περὶ ὀπλίσεως K–R: om. codd. || 3 τοὺς Erck: τοῖς MPA || πρωτοστάτας Erck: πρωτοστάταις MP: πρωτοστάταις A || 5–6 καὶ . . . εἶναι MPA: ὅτι τὰς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀσπίδας ἐν μεγέθει οὐ δεῖ εἶναι ἐλάττονας VSB || 9 τὰς . . . τυγχάνειν MP: om. A || 10 ἔχειν AVSB: ἔχ... MP || μόνας MP: καὶ AVSB: μόνας καὶ Erck || μέσον A: μέσου MP: μέσῳ VSB || 10–12 αὐτὰς . . . ὕψος MPA: ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ πέταλον σιδηροῦν στρογγύλον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ξίφος ἀνεστηκὸς ὥσει VSB || 27–28 δεῖ . . . τριῶν MPA: ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐκάστη περικεφαλαία ξίφος ἀνεστηκὸς ὥσει δακτύλων γ' καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς τῶν λοχαγῶν VSB || 36 συμβαίνει A: σημαίνει MP: om. VSB || 40–43 τινές . . . ὑπεναντίων MPA: ὅτι τινές τὰ δόρατα τῶν τοῦ β' ζυγοῦ ὀπλιτῶν τοσοῦτον ἐποίησαν μακρότερα ὥστε ἴσθην εἶναι τὴν προσβολὴν αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν τοῦ α' ζυγοῦ λοχαγῶν VSB || 47–51 πλὴν . . . πλευρῶν MPA: ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὀπλίσιν ἐμπεφραγμένοι ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι οὐ μόνον οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ζυγοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ὀπισθεν οὐραγοί, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄκροι στίχοι τῶν πλευρῶν τῆς φάλαγγος VSB || 55 χρῆσασθαι A: χρῆσθαι MP || 58–59 ταῖς . . . συντεθειμέναις A: τοῖς συντεθειμένοις MP || δὲ A: om. MP

ιζ'.

Περὶ ἵππικῆς φάλαγγος καὶ ὅπως δεῖ συντάττειν αὐτήν.

- Τῆς δὲ ἵππικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ οἱ πρωτοστάται καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοὺς πρωτοστάτας ἄχρι τοῦ τετάρτου ζυγοῦ τεταγμένοι καὶ οἱ οὐραγοὶ καὶ  
 5 οἱ ἄκροι τῶν στίχων καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους ταττόμενοι οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτὴν ποιότητα τῶν πεζῶν ἐχέτωσαν κατὰ τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην σώματος καὶ ἐμπειρίαν πολέμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάξιν καὶ προσέτι τὸν καθοπλισμόν. τινές δὲ ἐτέρως αὐτοὺς συντάττουσι πυκνώσεως ἕνεκα, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἵππων τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ μεταξὺ  
 10 τῶν ὤμων τῶν ἵππων τιθέασιν τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πλευρῶν.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἵππους τῶν πρωτοστατούντων μήτ' ἄγαν νέους εἶναι μήτε θορύβων ἀπείρους, φέρειν τε αὐτοὺς προμετώπιδά τε καὶ περιστέρνια σιδηρὰ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ περιτραχήλια, ὥστε καταφράττειν  
 M f. 115 15 αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέρη τῶν ἵππων | εἰς τὸ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς πάσχοντας ἀναταράττεσθαι τε καὶ καταβάλλειν τοὺς ἱππέας. τὰς δὲ γε βάσεις τῶν ποδῶν τῶν ἵππων καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμοίως σιδηροῖς πετάλοις κα-

we recommended for iron breastplates and other items. The thickness of the cloth also makes it more difficult for missiles to penetrate, or at least to penetrate deeply, into the body. So much then about the infantry phalanx.

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<sup>1</sup>Seven spithamai.

<sup>2</sup>The finger as a measurement was 1.95 cm., so the spike would be almost eight centimeters long.

## 17.

### The Cavalry Phalanx and Its Formation.

In a cavalry force the file leaders, the four ranks in position behind them, the rear guards, the troops on the edges of the ranks, and the men next to them should have the same qualifications as their counterparts in the infantry as far as bravery, physical strength, and combat experience are concerned. In fact, their formation and also their armament should be the same. Some commanders employ a different formation to make the unit more compact. Some of them line up the heads of the horses of the second rank with the shoulders of the horses in the first rank, while others line them up with their flanks.

The horses of the soldiers in the front line should not be too young or unused to noise and confusion. They should be equipped with iron armor for their heads, breasts, and necks. These will protect the parts of the horses most exposed in action, for if they become wounded they may easily get out of control and throw their riders. In like manner, the horses' hooves should be protected by iron plates, so they

τησφαλίσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως πάσχειν ὑπὸ τε τριβόλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

- 20 Διαφέρει δὲ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος ἡ ἵππικῆ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ διό-  
 λον πεπύκνωται καὶ δυσαντέρειστον ἔχει τὸ βάρος ἐν ταῖς πιλή-  
 σεσιν, συνωθούντων ἀλλήλους κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ἡ  
 δὲ ἡραίωται τε καὶ χωρὶς πιλήσεως γίνεται, ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ αὐτὴ  
 σφοδρότητος κατὰ τὰς προσβολὰς ἐπειδὰν μὴ βάδην τε καὶ κατ'  
 25 ὀλίγον προσπίπτῃ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀλλὰ μετὰ ὀξυτέρου τοῦ κινήματος.  
 ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ καταπληκτικόν πως τοῖς μὴ σφόδρα πεπειραμέ-  
 A f. 9<sup>v</sup> νοις πολέμου.

- Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ συντάττειν φάλαγγα καὶ πῶς ὀπλίζειν ἕκαστον  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένων διὰ τούτων ἡμῖν εἴρηται. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ  
 30 μόνον δεῖ συντάξαι φάλαγγα ἀλλὰ καὶ κινήσαι, ῥητέον καὶ περὶ  
 κινήσεως.

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17: K-R 104, Erck 47.

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17: 1 ιζ' M: θ' A: om. P || 3-4 καὶ οἱ μετὰ . . . τεταγμένοι A: om. MP || 4-5 καὶ οἱ οὐραγοὶ  
 . . . ταπτόμενοι MP: om. A || 7 ἐμπειρίαν A: ἐμπειρία MP || 9 καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν MP: ὥστε A || ζυγοῦ  
 MP: στίχον A || 10-11 τῶν ὤμων . . . πλευρῶν MP: τῶν πλευρῶν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν φθάνειν A

## ιη'.

Κατὰ πόσους τρόπους κινεῖται φάλαγξ.

- Κινεῖται τοίνυν φάλαγξ κατὰ τρόπους πέντε· καθ' ὁδοιπορίαν,  
 κατὰ στροφὴν τοῦ μετώπου, κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν σχήμα-  
 5 τος, καθ' ἐνωσιν διηρημένης φάλαγγος, κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἐνοειδοῦς  
 φάλαγγος.

Περὶ ὁδοιπορίας φάλαγγος.

- Ὀδοιπορία ἐστὶν φάλαγγος κίνησις ἐνόπλου στρατεύματος ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φέρουσα. ἵνα δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν  
 10 ὁδοιπορίαν στρατεύματος καλῶς ἀκούειν ἔχωμεν, ἀνάγκη περὶ χωρίων  
 διαλαβεῖν πρότερον καθ' ἃ διέρχεται τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πρὸ γε  
 τούτων εἰπεῖν περὶ τε παραγωγῆς καὶ ἐπαγωγῆς. ἔστι δὲ παραγωγή  
 ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατὰ πλευράν ἐν διαστάσει παραπορεύηται.  
 ταύτης δὲ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ὀνομάζουσιν, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον, καὶ δεξιὰν  
 15 μὲν λέγουσιν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τεταγμένην τῆς φάλαγγος, εὐώνυμον δὲ

will not be injured by caltrops and similar devices.

The cavalry phalanx, however, does differ from the infantry one. The latter is closed up very tightly, which gives it an irresistible weight as the men crowd together and push one another forward upon the enemy. The cavalry phalanx, on the other hand, is loose and without such crowding. But it too possesses its own kind of forcefulness in attacking, since it does not fall upon the enemy in a slow or measured way but charges at full speed. This charge is really terrifying to men who have not had years of combat experience.

We have, then, described how the phalanx should be formed and how the individual soldiers in it should be armed. But, since the phalanx must not only be formed but also moved, we now take up the subject of movement.

## 18.

### The Number of Ways in Which a Phalanx Moves.

A phalanx may make five kinds of movements. There is the regular march, the change of front, the changing of its own formation, uniting a phalanx which has been split up, dividing a unified phalanx.

#### A Phalanx on the March.

A phalanx on the march means the movement of an army equipped for action either toward or away from the enemy. In order to have a clear understanding of all aspects of an army's marching, we must first consider the terrain through which the army is passing, but even before this we must discuss marches in line and marches in column. A march is said to be in line when one phalanx proceeds along at a proper interval by the side of another phalanx. The unit positioned on the right of the phalanx is designated as the right, while that on the left is spoken of as the left.



τὴν ἐν εὐωνύμοις. ἐπαγωγή δὲ ἐστὶν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατ' οὐρὰν ἔπηται.

Τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν εὐρύχωρά τε καὶ ὁμαλά, τὰ δὲ στενά τε καὶ ὁμαλά καὶ ἀμφίλοφα, τινὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κρημνώδη τε καὶ  
 20 ἀνώμαλα, τὰ δὲ ὑλώδη τε καὶ κατάδενδρα. εἰ μὲν οὖν εὐρύχωρα ἢ τὰ χωρία καὶ ὁμαλά, κατὰ παραγωγήν χρή διαβιβάζειν τὰς φάλαγγας, εἰ μὲν δὲ στενά τε καὶ ὁμαλά καὶ ἀμφίλοφα, κατ' ἐπαγωγήν, τὸ μὲν μήκος αὐτῶν ὑποθέμνοντας, τὴν δὲ κατὰ βάθος τάξιν οὐ λύοντας. χρή δὲ πάντως ἀναλόγως τῷ πλάτει τῶν τοιούτων χωρίων τῶν ζυγῶν ποιῆ-  
 M f. 115<sup>v</sup> 25 σθαι τὸ μήκος, ὥς μήτε τοὺς ὁδοίπο | ροῦντας στενοχωρεῖσθαι μήτε τῶν στίχων ἐλαττωμένων παραταθῆναι τὸν χρόνον τῆς διαβάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τὴν τοιαύτην πορείαν ποιούμεθα, μὴ πρότερον τῆς  
 A f. 10 πορείας ἐπιλαμβά | νεσθαι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν λόφους διὰ τινων τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεῖων προκαταλάβωμεν, ἵνα μὴ τούτους κατα-  
 30 σχόντες οἱ πολέμοι κωλύσωσιν ἡμῶν τὴν διάβασιν.

Εἰ δὲ κρημνώδη τε καὶ ἀνώμαλα εἴη τὰ χωρία καὶ πολὺν ἀπει-  
 λοῦντα τοῖς ἐλευσομένοις τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀπαραίτητος δὲ ἡ τούτων διά-  
 βασις, καθαίρειν τε καὶ ὁμαλίζειν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ὅσον ἀκινδύνως διελθεῖν  
 τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ μίαν ἴλην ἢ καὶ δύο. πολλάκις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις  
 35 πορείαις ἐνέδρας ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ πολέμοι· διὸ δεῖ πρότερον δια-  
 σκέπεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους τόπους εἰς ἐνέδρας καὶ τούτους προ-  
 καταλαμβάνοντας ἢ καὶ τοὺς προκατειληφότες τῶν πολεμίων ἀπο-  
 διώξαντας πρότερον οὕτω διαβιβάζειν τὸ στράτευμα.

Εἰ δὲ ὑλώδης τε καὶ κατάδενδρος ὁ τόπος εἴη, χρή πρότερον τοὺς  
 40 χθαμαλωτέρους κλάδους τῶν δένδρων κατατεμόντας ἀνάπτειν—ἢ γὰρ κάτωθεν ἀναδιδομένη φλόξ καὶ τὰ ὕψη τῶν δένδρων εὐχερῶς κα-  
 τανέμεται—καὶ οὕτως δι' αὐτῶν διέρχεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα χρή φέρειν μεθ' ἐαυτῶν ἕκαστον τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἄξινας διπλὴν ἀκμὴν ἐχού-  
 45 σσας, τὴν μὲν ὀρθίαν, τὴν δὲ πλαγίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ὀρθίαν πρὸς  
 δένδρων τομάς, τὴν δὲ πλαγίαν διὰ τοὺς καθομαλισμούς τῶν στενο-  
 χῶρων καὶ ἐπικινδύνων ὁδῶν.

Ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ πετρῶν δι' ἀνάγκης ἔχομεν πορεύεσθαι.  
 γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο τριχῶς, ἢ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρατραπέντες ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων  
 παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δυνάμενοι, ἢ λαθεῖν κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον  
 50 τοὺς πολεμίους βουλόμενοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διωκόμενοι καὶ φερό-  
 μενοι οὐχ ὅποι καὶ θέλομεν. διὸ δεῖ ὅξει τὰς πέτρας καταρράναντας  
 εἰτα πυρώσαντας διὰ τῶν παρακειμένων ξύλων ἀκινδύνον παρέχειν  
 τῷ λαῷ τὴν διάβασιν· ἢ τε γὰρ πέτρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅξους καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς  
 λυομένη καὶ ἡ τέφρα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας πίπτουσα ἄλυπον  
 55 παρέξει τῷ στρατῷ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀννίβας ὑπὸ  
 Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἔξοδον κωλύόμενος.}

A march is said to be in column when one phalanx follows along behind the other.

There are various kinds of terrain: open plains and level ground, and passes, some of which may be level with hills surrounding them, while others may be precipitous and rough, and still others may be wooded and full of thickets. Now, then, if the country is open and level, the units should march along in line, but if there are passes with level ground surrounded by hills, then they should proceed in column. The width of the force should be reduced without breaking up the formation in depth. The width of the ranks should certainly be made to correspond to the width of the space before them. The troops should not be crowded as they march along, but neither should the ranks be thinned so much that the time of the passage is unduly stretched out. If this kind of passage is to be made in hostile territory, we should not undertake it before first making sure that suitable detachments have occupied the heights on both sides to prevent the enemy from seizing them and blocking our passage.

But if the terrain is precipitous and rough and poses great danger to the men approaching it, and if it is impossible to avoid passing through it, then the ground should be cleared and leveled enough to allow the army to pass through safely in one or even two files. It is in such passes that the enemy very often lay ambushes. We should, consequently, first reconnoiter likely places for an ambush and occupy them ourselves ahead of time or after having driven out the enemy if they have occupied them, and only then have the army march through.

If the place is wooded or full of thickets, the lower branches of the trees should first be cut off and set on fire, for the flames shooting up from below will easily spread in the tops of the trees. Then we can pass through the area. For this purpose each soldier should carry with him an axe with two blades, one straight and the other at right angles; the straight blade is to be used in cutting trees, and the other to level off narrow and dangerous roadways.

There are times when we have to march through rocky regions. This can happen in three ways: we may have turned off the right road owing to ignorance of the territory and be unable to avoid following the one before us; or we may want to enter the enemy's land without being detected; or we may have been pursued by the enemy and find ourselves where we do not want to be. In such cases we can get the troops through safely by pouring vinegar over the rocks and heating them by burning the wood lying about. The rocks will be broken up by the vinegar and the fire. The wood ashes, too, falling on the rocks will make the roadbed less troublesome for the army. Hannibal did this once when the Romans blocked his departure route.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Livy, 21, 37; Appian, *Roman History*, 7, 1, 4. See note by E. T. Sage, *Classical Weekly*, 16 (1922-23), 73-76. Late in the sixth century fire and vinegar were used to break up rocks to level the site for a church: *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A. J. Festugière (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48; Brussels, 1970), chap. 55, p. 47. The scribe of the Laurentian manuscript has added or copied the comment: "Even nature teaches us how to do this, regardless of whether some Hannibal had done it."

18: K–R 106, Erck 48.

18: 1 ιη' M: ι' A: om. P || 7 περι MP: ια' περι A || 20 ὑλώδη M: ἐλώδη AP || οὖν A: om. MP || 21 διαβιβάξιν A: βαδίζειν MP || 29 εἰς τοῦτο MP: om. A || 31 εἴη MP: ἦ A || 35 ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν MP: εἰώθασιν ποιεῖν A || δεῖ A: δῆ MP || 38 οὕτω MP: ἔπειτα A || 39 ὑλώδης K–R: ἐλώδης codd. || 42–43 διὰ . . . στρατιωτῶν MP: φέρειν μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον διὰ ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον A || 44–46 καὶ τὴν . . . ὁδῶν A: διὰ τὰς στενοχώρους ὁδοὺς MP || 48 τόπων A: ποταμῶν MP || 50 καὶ φερόμενοι . . . θέλομεν A: om. MP || 55 παρέξει MP: παρέχει A || 56 κωλυόμενος A: κωλυόμενος. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ φύσις διδάσκαλος κἂν μή τις Ἀννίβας τοῦτο πεποίηκεν MP

18: Cf. Asclepiodotum, 11; Arrianum, p. 42. || 55 Titus Livius, 21, 37.

A f. 10<sup>v</sup>

ιθ'.

### Περὶ διαβάσεως ποταμῶν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁδοιπορία γίνεται οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ ξηρᾷ ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ὕδατων, ῥητέον καὶ περὶ διαβάσεως ποταμῶν. τῶν ποταμῶν οἱ μὲν  
 5 ἐπὶ πολὺ βάθος ἔχουσι, καθάπερ Ἴστρος, οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἑλαττον, καθάπερ  
 M f. 116 Εὐφράτης. ὅσοι τοίνυν τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ βάθος ἔχουσι, τούτους  
 διαπλεῦσαι ῥάδιον· τὰ γὰρ ἄγαν εἰς βάθος καθήκοντα γαληνὸν ὥς ἐπὶ  
 πολὺ ῥέουσιν. εἰ δὲ μήτε σφόδρα βάθος ἔχουσιν μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ τῆς  
 ῥύμης φέρονται, ἀνάγκη τέχνη προσχρήσασθαι. διὸ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς  
 10 τοιοῦτους τῶν ποταμῶν βούττεις συζεύξαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμικιβωτίοις  
 χρησάμενοι τὸν ποταμὸν διεπέρασαν.

Ἄμεινον δὲ καὶ εἰ διὰ κιβωτίων ὑποστέγων διελθεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ἔχοιμεν· λυσιτελεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ τινες παρὰ τὰς ἐναντίας ὄχθας  
 τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐφεστηκότες πειρῶνται κατέχειν τὸν πόρον ὀλιγώτεροι  
 15 ἡμῶν ὄντες. οἷ τε γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τῆς στέγης τῶν κιβωτίων ἐφεστηκότες  
 ὥς ἐν ἐπάλξεσιν σανίσιν μέχρι τῶν στέρνων φυλαττόμενοι βέλ-  
 λεσί τε καὶ πετροβόλοις μηχαναῖς ἀποπέμπειν αὐτοὺς δύνανται, καὶ  
 οἱ κάτω τούτων πάντοθεν πύλας ἔχοντες δι' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσονται. κα-  
 λὸν δὲ καὶ σχοινίοις τὴν κιβωτὸν διαδήσαντας κατέχειν ἔξωθεν, ὥς ἂν  
 20 αὐτὰς εἰς ἀσύμφορον ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀπελανομένης εἰς ἑαυτοὺς  
 πάλιν ἔλκειν καὶ συνέχειν δυνάμεθα.

Ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ σχεδίασις κέχρηνται. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ καὶ μιᾷ σχε-  
 δία βούλεται διαβιβάσαι τὸ στράτευμα. ποιεῖ δὲ ὧδε· διαμετρήσας τὸ

## 19.

### Crossing Rivers.

Since journeys are made not only on dry land but also across water, it is necessary to talk about crossing rivers. Some rivers, such as the Danube, are very deep, while others, such as the Euphrates, are more shallow. It is easier to sail across the very deep ones, for as a general rule very deep rivers flow more gently. But if they are not really deep, and the current is quite violent, then certain techniques must be employed. For rivers of this sort, then, some have lashed barrels together, and others have used open boats to cross the river.

It is better, then, if we have boats with decks to cross the river. They can be used even if some of the natives, provided they are fewer than we are, take their stand on the opposite bank and try to hold the crossing. Our men standing above on the deck of the ships, and protected by breast-high wooden parapets, can drive them off by using artillery to fire missiles and stones, while the men below deck carry on their part in the fight by shooting through the portholes. It is a good idea to secure the boats tightly by ropes around the hulls, so that if they are carried away by the current into a dangerous position, we can haul them back again and keep them together.

Other commanders have made use of rafts. Apollodoros, for instance, would like to convey his army across on a single raft.<sup>1</sup> He proceeds in the following man-

- πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἐγχωροῦντα τρόπον πλέον ἢ κατὰ τοῦτο  
 25 τῆς σχεδίας τὸ μήκος ποιεῖ. οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ὃ  
 γειτονεῦει τῇ γῇ, ἀνίστησι δὲ καὶ πύργον καθ' ἓν τι τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς,  
 ὃ δὴ πρὸς τὸ ἄνω μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ τέτακται καὶ ὃ προκαταλαβεῖν  
 τὴν ἀντικρὺς ὄχθην βούλεται. ἀνεγείρει δὲ καὶ τεῖχος ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκ  
 ξύλων κατεσκευασμένων καὶ κλίμακας ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ. ἐπειδὴν δὲ  
 11 30 ταύτην εἰς τέλος ἀγάγῃ, τὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς συνέχειν ἐκτὸς | βού-  
 λεται, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἄκρον, ὃ δὴ βλέπει πρὸς τὸ ἄνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 μέρος, ἀπωθεῖν καὶ ἀποπέμπειν κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος. τῆς δὲ σχεδίας  
 πλαγίας κατὰ ῥοὴν φερομένης παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν δύνασθαι,  
 θάτερον μὲν τῶν ἄκρων κατεχομένου, θάτερου δὲ προσπεσόντος τῇ  
 35 ὄχθῃ τῶν ἐναντίων, διὰ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν αὐτὴν μήκος ἢ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ. εἴτα καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῆς ἄκρου ἀφιεμένου κατὰ τοῦ ὕδατος  
 παράλληλον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι τὴν σχεδίαν τῇ ὄχθῃ τῶν ἐναντίων,  
 τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀναβάοντας διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπὶ τε τὸν πύργον  
 καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου βάλλοντος ἀποδιώκειν.  
 40 Καὶ ἡ μὲν φαντασία τοῦ ἔργου λόγον ἴσως ἔχει, ἀγνοῶ δὲ εἰ καὶ  
 τὰ πράγματα συνακολουθήσει τῷ λόγῳ. καὶ ὅρα μοι. εἴτε γὰρ στενός  
 116' ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμός, κωλύει πάντως | εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν κτίσιν τῆς σχεδίας  
 τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ βέλη· εἰ δὲ μὴ φθάνει, οὐκ ἂν τηλικούτον μέγεθος  
 σχεδίας γενέσθαι ἢ κινηθῆναι δυνήσεται. τὸ τε γὰρ πλάτος τῆς σχε-  
 45 δίας ἀνάλογον πάντως ἔσται τῷ μήκει αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ ταύτην καθ'  
 ἑκάτερον τῶν ἄκρων ἀποτομένην ἑκατέρου τῶν ὄχθων καθάπερ τι τό-  
 ξον συνάξῃ τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ πον καὶ διακόψῃ. ἔσται δὲ πάντως καὶ τὸ  
 βάθος τῷ πλάτει ἀνάλογον, ὅποτε καὶ μάλιστα πύργον καὶ τεῖχος  
 ἔχει τῇ σχεδίᾳ συμπαρατεινόμενον καὶ πλήθος στρατοῦ πολεμήσαι  
 50 δυνάμενον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ βάθος τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἡ κτίσις ταύτης πάντως  
 ἀδύνατος· εἴτε γὰρ τεναγῶδές ἐστι τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ᾧ  
 τὴν σχεδίαν οἰκοδομήσομεν, οὐκ ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ ἡ σχεδία πλεῦσαι δυ-  
 νήσεται, εἰ δὲ μὴ σφόδρα τεναγῶδες ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον βάθος ἔχει, εἰ μὴ  
 καὶ πλέον εἰπεῖν, ὅποσον ἂν τὸ τῆς σχεδίας ἐστίν, καὶ ρεῦμα ὀξύ πον  
 55 πάντως ἔξει ὃ διακωλύσει τὴν κτίσιν τῆς σχεδίας ἀενάως φερόμενον.  
 Ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλλον ἀσφαλέστερον ἔδοξε ναυσὶ χρῆσασθαι, ἃς οὐκ  
 11' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀδείας | αὐτὰς εὐκαίρως ναυπηγήσο-  
 μεν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταύτας καλῶς συναρμολογήσωμεν καὶ τρήσωμεν  
 κατὰ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους τόπους, εἴτα καταγράψωμεν ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν  
 60 ὅπῃ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τοῦ πλοίου τέτακται, τότε τὰ μὲν  
 ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν ἐπιφορτίσαντες τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίων μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔλκο-  
 μεν, ἵν' ὅτε τὸν ποταμὸν καταλάβωμεν πάλιν εἰς ἄλληλα τὰ τῶν νεῶν  
 ξύλα συναρμολογήσαντές τε καὶ συμβιβάσαντες εἴτα πίσσῃ τε ἢ  
 κηρῷ καὶ στέατι τὰς ἀρμονίας τῶν ξύλων ἀσφαλίσάμενοι τὰς ναῦς  
 65 ἀπεργασόμεθα.

ner. After measuring the width of the river in whatever way is convenient, he has a raft constructed which is the same or greater in length. He has it built in the water along the bank. He then erects a tower on the end of the raft which is pointed upstream and which he intends to use to seize hold of the opposite bank. He also puts up a wall on it made of wooden planks and puts some ladders into place. When all this has been completed, he proposes that one end of the raft be secured to the land, while the other end, the one which is pointed upstream, should be shoved off and made to drift with the current. As the raft is being borne along sideways by the current, it cannot be carried away, since one end is firmly secured and the other will hit against the bank held by the enemy, since the raft is longer than the width of the river. The other end of the raft is then let go in the water, and it will, of course, swing parallel to the enemy's bank. The soldiers then climb the ladders to the tower and the parapet and drive off the enemy by shooting down upon them.

In theory this operation may seem reasonable, but in practice I do not think it will work out so well. Look at it more closely. If the river is narrow, I am certain that enemy arrows will easily prevent the construction of the raft. Even if there should be no worry on that score, it would be impossible to build such huge rafts or to maneuver them. The width of the raft should obviously be proportionate to its length; otherwise when both ends are secured to each bank, the current will bend it like a bow and eventually break it in two. Moreover, the depth has to be proportionate to its width, especially since the raft also has to provide support for a tower, parapets, and a large fighting force. If it is to be deep enough for this, then the whole construction becomes impossible. For if the river is shallow at the point at which we intend to build the raft, we will not be able to float it there. If, on the other hand, that part of the river is not too shallow but deep enough, or even deeper, than is needed to float the raft, we can certainly expect the current there to flow strong and steady enough to prevent construction of the raft.

In my opinion it is much safer to make use of boats. These we can construct, not on the rivers themselves, but ahead of time at our leisure.<sup>2</sup> When these have been well shaped and fitted, holes bored in the right places, and each piece marked to indicate where it belongs in assembling the vessel, then some parts should be carefully loaded on wagons and some on pack animals and transported with us. Then, when we reach the river, the timbers of the ships may again be fitted together and reassembled, their joints caulked with pitch, wax, and lard, and the ships made ready for service.

Αἱ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται μερικαὶ διαβάσεις τῶν στρατευμάτων γίνονται ὅταν μὴ τὸ πολέμιον ἀντικάθῃται ἢ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὅσον καὶ οἷον πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀποδιώκειν δυνάμεθα, εἴτε διὰ τῶν πλοίων, εἴτε διὰ τῶν ἄλλων δι' ὧν ἐλέγομεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν πλεομένων

70 ποταμῶν ταῦτα.

Τοὺς δὲ γε ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς φερομένους καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους τε καὶ ἐξόδους ἀνεμποδίστους ἔχοντας, εἴτε ὁξὺ ῥέουσιν εἴτε μὴ, καὶ εἴτε τὸ πολέμιον ἀντικάθῃται εἴτε καὶ μὴ, ῥάδιον διελθεῖν ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ δυνα-

75 τῶς ἔχωμεν πρὸς πάντας αὐτῶν ἀντιμάχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Περσῶν καταλαβόντων τὸν πόρον αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος μαχεσάμενος τὸν ποταμὸν διεπέρασεν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ μόνον τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ὄπλα φέροντες, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ μέχρι θώρακος καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ θώρακα ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατακαλύψαντες διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀγωνισάμενοι παρήλθον τὸν ποταμὸν.

M f. 117

80 Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ διώρυχας εἰς σχήματα ἡμικυκλίων ἀνορύξαντας παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀρχομένας μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν καὶ αὐθις εἰς αὐτὸν κάτωθεν ἐπιστρεφομένας, ἐλκῦσαι τε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖθεν καὶ διελεῖν καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιστρέψαι, ὥστε ὑποτμηθέντος τοῦ βάθους τῇ διαιρέσει τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐλαττωθέντος ἀκινδύνως ἐκεῖσε διαβιβάσαι τὸ πᾶν τοῦ στρατεύματος. Κῦρος

85 πρῶτος τοῦτο ποιεῖ, δύο τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀποβεβλη | κὼς καὶ ἀστραγάλῳ γυναικὸς περατὸν ἔσσεσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπειλήσας.

A f. 12

Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος μὴ κωλύοντος διὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθείας οὔσας ἀδύνατος ἔδοξεν ἡ διάβασις. ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατος, τὰς γὰρ παρ' ἐκάτερα ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡρέμα πῶς διορύττοντες καθόδους τε καὶ ἀνόδους ἀπέναντι ἀλλήλων ποιεῖν δυνησόμεθα, δι' ὧν διαβιβάσομεν τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦτο γινόμενον καὶ κατενοοούμενον. εἶχε δὲ καὶ τι δυσχερὲς ἡ διάβασις, καὶ γὰρ

95 ἀλύπως πολλῶν πρότερον διαβεβηκότων κατασταζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν παριόντων αἱ ἄνοδοι τελματώδεις ἐγίνοντο. καλάμη δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις ἐπιστρωννυμένη καὶ κλάδοι ἄλνυον τῶν ἐξῆς τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο. δοκοὶ δὲ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνόδοις ἐπ' εὐθείας προτιθέμεναι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἕτεραι πλάγιοι καθηλωμέναι ἀσφαλεστέραν παρέ-

100 ξουσι τὴν διάβασιν.

Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἐναντίαν ὄχθην κατέχοντας καὶ κωλύοντας τὴν διάβασιν (ἀπατήσαντες) ἀκωλύτως διῆλθον τὸν πόρον. νυκτὸς γὰρ ὑπὸ λόφον γενόμενοι ὥστε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὴ φαίνεσθαι, ἀπομοιράν τινα στρατεύματος πέμπουσιν ἵππειαν κόπρον ἐπιφερομέ-

105 νους καὶ ταύτην ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἀναδραμόντας τὸν ποταμὸν ῥῖψαι κατὰ τοῦ ρείθρου κελεύουσιν. τῆς δὲ καταφερομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος οἱ τὸν πόρον κατέχοντες ἰδόντες αὐτὴν καὶ πεισθέντες ἄνωθεν διαβε-

Such crossings by detachments of the army are made when there is no enemy force on the other side or when its numbers or fighting ability are such that we can fight and drive them away. For these crossings boats or the other methods we have mentioned may be used. These remarks, then, about navigable rivers should be enough.

Shallow streams that present no obstacles to getting in and getting out are quite easily crossed whether they are swiftly flowing or not and whether an enemy force opposes the crossing or not, provided, of course, that our own force is strong enough to fight against all of them. Alexander, for example, successfully crossed a river at a ford held by the Persians by going into the water and personally taking part in the fighting.<sup>3</sup> Some soldiers have discarded their armor and with only the weapons they could carry in their hands have waded into the stream up to their chests, and, covering the upper part of their bodies with their shields, they have fought their way through the water across the river.<sup>4</sup>

It is also possible to dig trenches in a semicircular shape along the bank of the river, beginning upstream and rejoining the river further down. This should siphon off the water at that point, make it flow through the canal, and return it to the river again. Drawing off the water in this way lowers the depth, reduces the force of the current, and enables the whole army to cross over without danger. Cyrus was the first to do this. He had had a couple of his soldiers swept away by the current, and boasted that he would see to it that the river could be crossed, ankle deep, even by a woman.<sup>5</sup>

It may often happen that the stream itself presents no obstacle, but the steep banks of the river make a crossing appear impossible. But it is not impossible. We can dig out the banks of the river a little bit on both sides and make entrance and exit ramps opposite each other by which the army can march across. I know of a case in which the roadbed was prepared in this fashion. The crossing became a little difficult. After a large number of troops had passed without incident, the ramps became muddy because of the constant trampling of the men. Reeds and branches were spread over the roadway, and the crossing continued without any problem. An even better way of making the passage safe is by laying down beams in a straight line on the ramps and then nailing planks across them.

Some have forded a stream without incident by deceiving the enemy force holding the opposite bank and preventing anyone from crossing. By night the troops moved behind a hill so that they were not seen at daybreak. A detachment of the army was sent out. They carried a large amount of horse manure, and their orders were to ride a good distance up the river and dump the manure into the stream. When the men who guarded the ford saw this carried down by the current, they were convinced that the army had crossed the river further up, and so they aban-



βηκέναι τὸ στράτευμα φεύγουσι τὸν ποταμὸν καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν  
 λόφων προκύψαντες καὶ τὸν πόρον διελθόντες κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων  
 110 ἐχῶρουν.

19: K-R 110, Ereck 50.

19: 1 ιθ' M: ιβ' A: om. P || 2 titulum ponit hic Ereck: post ποταμῶν (lin. 4) codd. || 14-15  
 ὀλιγώτεροι ἡμῶν ὄντες MP: μετριωτέραν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντες τῶν ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις ἀπηρι-  
 θμημένων A || 21 ἔλκειν καὶ MP: om. A || 28 ἀντικρὺς MP: ἀντικρὺ A || βούλεται MP: διανοώμεθα  
 A || 35-36 διὰ . . . ποταμοῦ A: om. MP || 46 ἀπτομένην A: ἀπτομένη MP || 52 δυνήσεται A:  
 δυνήσεται MP || 61 ἐφ' A: ἐπ' MP || 67 τὸ A: om. MP || 72 καὶ A: om. MP || 77 εἰσελθόντες A: om.  
 MP || 95 κατασταζόμεναι MA: κατασπαζόμεναι P || 99 καθηλωμένοι K-R: καθηλουμένοι codd.  
 || 102 ἀπατήσαντες K-R: om. codd. || 106 ῥεύματος A: κύματος MP

57 cf. Arrianum, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 5, 8-15. || 74-76 cf. *ibid.*, 1, 14-15. || 85-88 Xenophon,  
*Cyropaedia*, 7, 5, 9-20.

⟨κ'.

Πῶς δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις.)

Δεῖ δὲ πάντως ὁδοιποροῦντας ἡμᾶς κατὰ τε ξηρὰν καὶ ὑγρὰν,  
 ὁπότε καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν πολεμίαν κινούμεθα ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
 5 πλησιάζομεν, μὴ ἀννπόπτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 ἐπιθέσεις, ἀλλ' ὑφορᾶσθαι ταύτας. τὸ γὰρ “οὐκ ᾤμην,” ὥς τις ἔφη  
 117<sup>ν</sup> τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ πᾶν στρατηγικόν. διὸ δὴ τῆς αἰφνιδίου ἐπιστα|σίας  
 12<sup>ν</sup> τῶν πολεμίων φειδομένους ἡμᾶς νῦν μὲν ἔνθεν, νῦν δὲ | ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ  
 τὰς πλευρὰς τοῦ στρατεύματος τάττειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ  
 10 δὴ στόματα καὶ πλευραὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ὀνομάζονται, οὐχ ὅτι πέρατά  
 εἰσιν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατεύματος, οὐδ' ὅτι παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς φά-  
 λαγγος τάττονται καθ' ἃ πρότερον αὐτὰ ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι συνέ-  
 χουσιν καὶ φυλάττουσιν τοὺς οἰκείους διὰ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν κατορθω-  
 μάτων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιταττόμενοι.  
 15 “Ὅθεν μονόπλευρος φάλαγξ καὶ δίπλευρος καὶ τρίπλευρος καὶ  
 τετράπλευρος ὀνομάζεται. καὶ μονόπλευρος μὲν φάλαγξ λέγεται ἢ  
 κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους, δίπλευρος δὲ  
 ἢ κατὰ δύο πλευρὰς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους, ὡσαύτως

doned their position at the river. The troops hidden behind the hill then forded the river and went after the enemy.

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<sup>1</sup>This may refer to Apollodoros of Damascus, who oversaw the construction of a bridge over the Danube for Emperor Trajan in A.D. 104–5: Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, 4, 6.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the crossing of the Hydaspes by Alexander the Great in the summer of 327 B.C.: Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 5, 8–15.

<sup>3</sup>This may refer to Alexander's fighting his way across the Granicus River in 334 B.C.: Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 1, 14–15.

<sup>4</sup>One may, for example, recall the crossing of the Kentrites by the Greek mercenaries: Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4, 3.

<sup>5</sup>Xenophon (*Education of Cyrus*, 7, 5, 9–20) records the diverting of the river but not the boast of Cyrus.

## [20.

### Guarding against Surprise Attacks by the Enemy.]

When our troops are either marching overland or crossing water, especially when we are moving into hostile territory or getting close to the enemy, we must always be on the lookout for surprise attacks by the enemy and not be caught unawares. As one of the ancient authors said, a general should never have to say “I didn’t think of that.”<sup>1</sup> With this in mind, to guard against surprise attacks by the enemy, we have to station the leaders who are called the front and the flanks of the army sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. It is not only that these leaders stand at the edges of the army, or that they are stationed on both sides of the phalanx, according to the terms we employed earlier, but because with their qualities of leadership they are posted facing the enemy, and so hold together and protect their own men.

Thus we speak of a phalanx with one front or with two, three, and four fronts. By phalanx with one front is meant one which has the leaders formed on one side. The phalanx with two fronts has the leaders formed on two sides, and in like manner

καὶ τρίπλευρος καὶ τετράπλευρος ἢ κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας πλευράς  
 20 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους. κὰν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν  
 μέρος ὁ ἐχθρὸς μάλιστα ὑποπτεύηται, ἐκείσε τὸν στρατηγὸν τε-  
 τάχθαι, ἂν δ' ἐπὶ νῶτον, κατόπιν ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ δὲ κατὰ μίαν τῶν  
 πλευρῶν, κατ' ἐκείνην καὶ αὐτὸν φέρεσθαι. εἰ δὲ πάντως μὲν ὑπο-  
 πτεύεται, ἄδηλον δὲ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἐπιστήσεται, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα ἐπὶ  
 25 τοῦ ἰδίου στήσεσθαι τόπον, ἐπιστήσαι δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ἄλλων  
 πλευρῶν καθάπερ τινὰς ὑποστρατήγους συντηροῦντας τὴν ἐν αὐταῖς  
 τάξιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπάντησιν ἐντρεπιζομένους.

Χρῆ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ φύλακας ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν παρ' ἐκάτερα  
 τῆς φάλαγγος τεταγμένους, τοὺς μὲν πόρρωθεν κατασκοποῦντας τὰς  
 30 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας, τοὺς δὲ πλησισιαιτερον παραθέοντας, ὡς ἂν  
 τάχιον ἡμῖν δι' αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλληται ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρουσία. τοὺς δὲ  
 φύλακας εἶναι δεόν ἱππότας εἰς τὸ μήτε ῥαδίως ἀλίσκεσθαι μήτε  
 βραδύνειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀραθέντων ἢ ἀκουσθέντων ἀπαγγελίαν, φρο-  
 νίμους τε τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἐμπείρους θορύβων τε καὶ κατασκοπῆς καὶ  
 35 μάλιστα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν οἷς ἢ τοιαύτη φροντίς ἐπιτέτραπται,  
 ὥστε μὴ τοὺς τυχόν | τας ἐπὶ τοῦτο τάττειν κὰν ὥσιν τᾶλλα κατωρθω-  
 κότες, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦτο σταλέντες εὐδοκιμη-  
 κότες γινώσκονται. δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐμπείρους εἶναι καθ'  
 40 οὓς τῆς φάλαγγος προπορεύονται ἢ παραπορεύονται, ἵνα μὴ κατ' ἀγ-  
 νοουμένων τόπων φερόμενοι πολλάκις κινδυνεύοιεν ὅποτε ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν μάλιστα γνωσθέντες καταδιώκονται. καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-  
 45 κινδυνωτέρους τῶν τόπων ἀπογράφειν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ | καὶ ὅσοι εἰς  
 ἐνέδρας εἰσὶν ἐπιτήδειοι, ἵν' αὐθις ἐν καιρῷ ἐκείσε διαβαίνοντες  
 φυλακτώμεθα.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὁδοιπορίας στρατοῦ ὅπως γίνεται κατὰ τε ξηρὰν  
 καὶ ὑγρὰν, καὶ ὅπως χρῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἰφνιδίους ἐπι-  
 στασίας δι' ὑποψίας αὐτὰς ἔχοντας, ἱκανῶς ἴσως ἂν ἔχειν δόξειεν τὰ  
 παρόντα. ὅπως δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἢ νῶτα ἐπιφανέντων  
 ἡμῖν κλίνειν τε καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ ἐξελίττειν ῥαδίως τὴν φάλαγγα  
 50 δυνησόμεθα, ὥστε ἀεὶ τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγι ἀντιμέτωπον τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν καθίστασθαι, διὰ τούτων ρηθήσεται.

20: K-R 120, Ereck 53.

20: 1 κ' De: om. codd. || 2 πῶς . . . ἐπιθέσεις De: πῶς δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι K-R: om. codd. || 9  
 τὰς A: om. MP || 17-18 δίπλευρος . . . τεταγμένους A: om. MP || 21 μέρος MP: om. A || 39 ἢ  
 παραπορεύονται A: om. MP || 47 αὐτὰς MP: αὐτοὺς A

the one with three and four fronts has the leaders formed on three and four sides. If we have good reason to suspect that the enemy are going to be in front of us, then the general should station himself there; if to the rear of us, then he should move to the rear; if to one of the flanks, the general should move over there. If we suspect that the enemy are all around us and it is uncertain where they will attack, then the commander should remain at his regular place and send some junior officers to command each of the other fronts, to see that their formation is maintained and to make preparations for an encounter with the enemy.

In addition to these it is necessary to have guards stationed on both sides of the phalanx, some off at a distance to observe any movement of the enemy, while others should reconnoiter further in. The presence of the enemy will thus be more quickly reported. These guards should be mounted to help in preventing capture and to avoid any delay in reporting what they have seen and heard. They should be naturally intelligent, experienced in distinguishing sounds, and keen observers, especially their leaders, upon whom this responsibility rests. Men, even if they are qualified soldiers in other respects, should not be assigned indiscriminately to this duty, but only those who have given proof of their competence when previously sent on such missions. They must also know the country in which they ride ahead or off to the side of the phalanx. If they are not familiar with the country, they will be in constant danger, especially if they are discovered and pursued by the enemy. A good plan is to make sketches of the more dangerous places, and more so of locations suitable for an ambush, so that if we have occasion to pass that way again, we may be on our guard.

This chapter, then, should probably be enough about conducting the march of an army on land or across water and providing for its protection by looking out for surprise attacks by the enemy. We shall now discuss the means by which, if the enemy appear on our flank or to the rear, we can readily face around, turn, and deploy our phalanx, so that it is always in a position confronting the phalanx of the enemy.

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<sup>1</sup>The expression is found in Polyaeus, *Stratagems*, 3, 9, 17; Cicero, *De officiis*, 1, 23; and in other authors. Similar is "I did not expect that," in Maurice, *Strategikon*, VIII, 1, 87; 2, 102.

6 Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, 3, 9, 17; cf. Mauricii *Strategikon*, VIII, 1, 87; Cicero, *De officiis*, 1, 23, et alibi.

### κα'.

#### Περὶ στροφῆς τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος.

Στροφή δέ ἐστιν μετάθεσις τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος καθ' ἓν ἢ καὶ πλείονα μέρη. μέρη δὲ λέγω τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, τὸ ὀπισθεν, τὸ δεξιόν, τὸ εὐώνυμον. μέλλοντας δὲ περὶ διαφορᾶς στροφῆς διελθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν πρότερον τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἡ φάλαγξ στρέφεται. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη· πολλάκις οἱ πολέμιοι ὁδοιπορούσης τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπειδὴν κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῆς ἐπελθεῖν ἀδυνατῶσιν, αἰφνιδίως ἐπιφαίνονται αὐτοῖς νῦν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, νῦν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ νώτων. τὴν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν βλάβην οἱ τακτικοὶ ὑφορώμενοι μεθόδους τινὰς ἐξεύρον δι' ὧν ἂν τις ῥαδίως στρέφων τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν πλήθος αὐτῆς φυλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐπιφανείας | τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύναται.

A f. 13<sup>v</sup>

Στρέφεται δὲ φάλαγξ κατὰ τρόπους τέσσαρας· κατ' ἄνδρα, κατὰ στίχον, κατὰ ζυγόν, καθ' ὁμάδα. καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα μὲν ὅταν τῶν ἄλλων ἡρεμούντων εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ κινούμενος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τῶν στρατιώτων ἕκαστος, κατὰ στίχον δὲ ὅταν τῶν ἄλλων ἡρεμούντων μόνος ὁ πρῶτος στίχος κινῆται καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος τῶν ἄλλων στίχων, ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ ζυγόν. καθ' ὁμάδα δὲ ὅταν ὅλη ὡς ὅλη ἡ φάλαγξ κινῆται. καλεῖται δὲ ἡ μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα στροφή κλίσις, ἡ δὲ κατὰ στίχον ἐξελιγμός, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ κατὰ ζυγόν, ἡ δὲ καθ' ὁμάδα ἐπιστροφή.

21: K-R 124, Erck 55.

21: 1 κα' De: τυ' A: om. MP || 3 δέ A: om. MP || 15 καὶ MP: om. A ||

21: Cf. Aelianum, 24; Asclepiodotum, 10; Arrianum, p. 32.

**21.****Changing the Front of the Phalanx.**

Changing the front of the phalanx is a repositioning in one or more directions. By directions I mean the front, the rear, the right, and the left. Before beginning our discussion of various ways of changing, we must first explain the reason for having the phalanx make such a change. The reason is this. Often enough when the army is marching along and the enemy are unable to launch a frontal assault on it, they will suddenly appear off to the right, at another time off to the left, and sometimes to the rear. Well aware of the damage that can result, the tacticians have devised certain methods to make it easy for one to change the front of the phalanx and thus guard all the rest of it against the approach of the enemy.

A phalanx can change its front in four ways: by individuals, by files, by ranks, by the entire unit. When it is by individuals, one man alone moves, while the others remain in place, and after the first has changed, then each of the soldiers does likewise. When it is by file, all remain in place, and only the first file moves, and after that then each of the others, and the same is done with the rank. When it is by the entire unit, the phalanx moves as a whole. The individual change of front is called a turning, that by file a countermarch, and the same for that by rank, and the one by the entire unit is a wheeling about.

## κβ'.

## Περὶ κλίσεως.

- Κλίσις ἐστὶν μετάθεσις κατ' ἄνδρα τῆς ὅλης φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς τόπον οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη τοῦ τόπου μετατιθε-  
 5 μένης ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἕτερα. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν κλίσεων ἐκάστην μεταπεσεῖν τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δόρυ κλιθεῖσαν μέτωπον γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὀπισθίαν δε-  
 ξιὰν, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον ὀπισθίαν, εὐώνυμον δὲ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν. ὁμοίως  
 δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἄσπίδα τὴν μὲν εὐώνυμον μέτωπον, τὴν δὲ ὀπισθίαν εὐώ-  
 M f. 118<sup>v</sup> 10 νυμον, καὶ ἐφεξῆς. τεσσάρων δ' ὄντων | μερῶν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καθ'  
 ἃ κινεῖται ἡ φάλαγξ, συμβαίνει κλίσεις εἶναι ὀκτώ, τέσσαρας μὲν  
 ἐπὶ δόρυ, τέσσαρας δὲ ἐπ' ἄσπίδα. λέγουσιν δὲ ἐπὶ δόρυ μὲν τὴν ἐκ  
 δεξιῶν διὰ τὸ τὸ δόρυ κατέχειν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, ἐπ' ἄσπίδα δὲ τὴν ἐπ'  
 ἀριστερὰ διὰ τὸ τῇ λαίᾳ χειρὶ τὴν ἄσπίδα κατέχειν.  
 15 Ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ δύο συνεχεῖς κλίσεις τὴν φάλαγγα στρέ-  
 φουμεν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη, οὐκ ἀναπαύοντες αὐτὴν καθ' ἐκάστην  
 κλίσιν καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν ἀλλὰ κατὰ συνέχειαν αὐτὴν κλίνοντες, καὶ οὐ  
 μόνον κατὰ δύο κλίσεις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ' οὐρὰν στρέψαι τὸ μέτωπον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τελευταῖον κατὰ τέτταρας. καλοῦνται δὲ αἱ  
 20 μὲν κατὰ συνέχειαν δύο κλίσεις μεταβολή, ἃν τε ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίνειν τις  
 ἐθέλῃ, ἃν τε ἐπ' ἄσπίδα· ἔστι γὰρ μεταβολὴ δύο κατὰ συνέχειαν  
 κλίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν ἐπι-  
 A f. 14 φάνειαν ἢ ἀπὸ ταύτης | ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιφάνειαν. γίνεται δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλως μεταβολὴ ὅταν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν τῆς φάλαγγος κατὰ συνέ-  
 25 χειαν κλίνοντες ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον στησώμεθα τῆς φάλαγγος μέρος καὶ  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, ὥς τινας εἰκότως ἂν τις καλέσῃ τὴν μὲν ἐκ  
 δεξιῶν ἀρχομένην μεταβολὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀντίστροφον αὐτῆς  
 μεταβολὴν ἐξ εὐωνύμων. αἱ δὲ τρεῖς κατὰ συνέχειαν κλίσεις πε-  
 ριστροφὴ λέγεται, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες ἀποκατάστασις, ἡ δὲ ἀντίστροφος  
 30 ἐκάστης κλίσεως ἀναποδισμός.

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22: K-R 124, Erck 56.

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22: 1 κβ' De: ιδ' A: om. MP || 13 τὸ τὸ A: τὸ MP || 27 ἀντίστροφον A: ἀντιστροφὴν MP

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22: Cf. Aelianum, 25.

## 22.

## Turning.

Turning is a maneuver by which the whole phalanx, each man moving individually, takes up position facing in a new direction. This is done in such a way that each flank is located not in the same sector as before but in a new one. In each turning, now, each of the flanks will necessarily be changed around. If the turning is to the spear, then the right flank becomes the front, the rear becomes the right, the left becomes the rear, and the former front becomes the left. Similarly, if the turning is to the shield, then the left becomes the front, the rear becomes the left, and so on. Since, as mentioned, there are four directions in which the phalanx can move, it follows that there are eight turnings, four to the spear and four to the shield. They designate the turning to the right as to the spear, since the spear is carried in the right hand, and to the left as to the shield, since the shield is carried in the left hand.

At times we can also change the front of the phalanx by two successive turnings in the same direction, doing this in one continuous motion without any pause in each turning about. Not only can we make two turnings changing the front to the rear, but even three and as many as four. Two turnings in a continuous motion are called an about-face, whether turning to the spear is called for or to the shield. The about-face, then, involves two continuous turnings, one from the front of the phalanx to a position in the rear and the other from this to the original front. Another kind of about-face involves turning in a continuous motion from the right side of the phalanx, so that it ends up facing the original left, or from this to the right. It would be appropriate, I suppose, to designate the move beginning from the right as about-face from the right, and the opposite of this as about-face from the left. Three successive turnings are called a turning around; four a reversal of position, and the opposite of each turning is a resumption of front.



κγ'.

(Περὶ ἐπιστροφῆς.)

Τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν ὀρίζονται οἱ παλαιοὶ οὕτως· ἐπιστροφή ἐστιν ὅταν πυκνώσαντες τὰ συντάγματα κατὰ παραστάτην καὶ ἐπιστάτην  
 5 ὅλον τὸ σύνταγμα ὡς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς σῶμα ἢ ἐπὶ δόρῳ ἢ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα κλίνωμεν. διαφέρει δὲ κλίσις ἐπιστροφῆς τῷ τὴν μὲν κλίσιν κατ' ἀνδρα γίνεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν ὅλην ὡς ὅλην κινεῖσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα. γίνεται δὲ καὶ αὕτῃ κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους περὶ κλίσεως τρόπους, ὥστε τοσαύτας εἶναι τὰς μεταβολὰς ὅπόσας ἂν καὶ τὰς κλίσεις  
 10 ἐλέγομεν εἶναι.

Ἡ δὲ ἀντίστροφος ἐκάστης ἐπιστροφῆς ἀναστροφή ὀνομάζεται· ἔστι γὰρ ἀναστροφή ἀποκατάστασις τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς εἰς ὃν προκατεῖχεν τὸ σύνταγμα τόπον. αἱ δὲ δύο ἐπιστροφαὶ περισπασμός λέγεται, αἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐκπερισπασμός. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκπερισπασμός, ἵν'  
 15 αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν χρησώμεθα λέξεσιν, (ἢ) ἐκ τριῶν συνεχῶν ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ τάγματος κίνησις, ὥστε μεταλαμβάνειν, ἐὰν μὲν ἐπὶ δόρῳ γένηται, τὴν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν. ἢ δὲ ἐκ τεσσάρων (συνεχῶν ἐπιστροφῶν κίνησις ἐπικατάστασις ὀνομάζεται. ἢ δὲ ἀντίστροφος ἐκάστης ἐπιστροφῆς)  
 20 ἀναποδισμός.

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23: K-R 126, Erck 56.

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23: 1 κγ' M: om. AP || 2 περὶ ἐπιστροφῆς K-R: om. codd. || 5 ἀσπίδα A: ἀσπίδι MP || 11 ἐπιστροφῆς K-R: περιστροφῆς codd. || 15 ἢ K-R: om. codd. || 17 δὲ A: om. MP || 18-19 συνεχῶν . . . ὀνομάζεται Erck ex Asclepiodoto, 10, 9: om. codd. || 19 ἢ . . . ἐπιστροφῆς conj. Oldfather teste Erck || 20 ἀναποδισμός A: om. MP ||

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23: Cf. Aelianum, 25.

κδ'.

Περὶ ἐξελιγμοῦ.]

M f. 119

Ἐξελιγμός δὲ ἐστι μετάθεσις τῆς ὅλης φάλαγγος ἐφ' ἕτερον ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον κατὰ στίχους ἢ ζυγούς. ἐξελίττειν δὲ κατὰ στίχους  
 5 τὴν φάλαγγα λέγομεν ὅταν ἐνὸς τῶν ἄκρων στίχων τῆς φάλαγγος

## 23.

## [Wheeling About.]

The ancient authors define a wheeling about in the following terms. A wheeling about is when the units have closed up both to the flank and to the front and we turn the entire force as though it were only one man either to the spear or to the shield. A turning differs from wheeling about in that turning is made by each man independently, whereas in the wheeling about the whole phalanx is moved as a whole. The movements are made along the same lines as those described for turnings, so that there are as many about-faces as those we enumerated for turnings.

The opposite of each wheeling about is termed a reversing, that is, a reversing is a reversal of position of the wheeling about to that place which the unit originally occupied. Two wheelings about are called a wheeling around, three an outwheeling around. This outwheeling around, to use the exact words of the ancient authorities, is the movement of the tagma composed of three successive wheelings about, so that if it is made to the spear, the new front is changed from the old left, or if made to the shield, from the right. The movement composed of four [successive wheelings about is called a return to original point. The opposite of each wheeling about is a resumption of front.]<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The words within brackets have been supplied by the editors, since there is a gap in the manuscripts at this point, which, in Spaulding's view, "mercifully spares us further definitions."

## 24.

## Counter marches.

A countermarch means that an entire phalanx changes position by files or by ranks in the same or in another place. We say that a phalanx countermarches by file when one of the files on the edges of the phalanx moves to its designated place; all

A f. 14<sup>v</sup>

κινηθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρισθέντα τόπον κατὰ τάξιν αὐτῷ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν στίχων ἐπακολουθῶσιν, κατὰ ζυγούς | δὲ ὅταν ἐνὸς τῶν ἄκρων ζυγῶν προπορευομένου καὶ τὸν ὀρισθέντα λαμβάνοντος τόπον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ζυγῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν ἐπακολουθῶσιν αὐτοῖς.

- 10 Ἐξελιγμῶν δὲ γένη ταῦτα οἱ παλαιοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν. ἑκατέρου δὲ τούτων εἶδη φασὶ τρία, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθ' ὃ μεταλαμβάνοντες τὸν ἔμπροσθεν τόπον ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος στρέφομεν· Μακεδόνα δὲ τοῦτο προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππον τοῦτο φασὶν ἐξευρηκότα χρῆσασθαι. δεύτερον δὲ εἶδος  
15 ἐξελιγμοῦ καθ' ὃ τῆς φάλαγγος τὸν ὀπισθεν τόπον μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ μέτωπον στρέφομεν· Λάκων δὲ καὶ οὗτος παρ' αὐτοῖς κέκληται. τὸ δὲ τρίτον εἶδος τῶν ἐξελιγμῶν οὐκ ἀμείβει τὸν τόπον τῆς φάλαγγος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταύτην τηρεῖ, τοὺς μὲν λοχαγούς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν οὐραγῶν μετὰγον, τοὺς δὲ οὐρα-  
20 γούς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν λοχαγῶν, ὡσαύτως δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ πρό-  
σωπον ἐπιφανείας ἀπολαμβάνον τὴν ὀπισθεν· χορεῖος δὲ οὗτος καὶ Κρητικὸς καὶ Περσικὸς ὀνομάζεται.

- Γίνεται δὲ ὁ Μακεδὼν κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ λοχαγὸς ἐνὸς τῶν ἄκρων στίχου παρατρέχων πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπακο-  
25 λουθούντων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ στίχου κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστου τάξιν, ἀντιμέτωπος γένηται τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἄκρου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐφεξῆς οἱ λοιποί, ἕτερος ἐτέρου κατὰ στίχον ἐχόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τῷ λοχαγῷ ἤτοι τῷ πρωτοστάτῃ συννεύοντες. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ κατὰ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ παραπορευόμενος  
30 τὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέτωπον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ ἀντιμέτωποι γέ-  
νωνται τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ μήπω ἐξελιχθέντος. τὸν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τόπον τῆς φάλαγγος διὰ τῆς ἐξελίζεως λαμβάνειν βουλόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον, οὓς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν λαμβάνομεν ἐπὶ τὰ εὐώ-  
νυμα μετατίθεμεν τῆς ἐξελιττομένης φάλαγγος, οὓς δὲ ἐκ τῶν εὐώ-  
A f. 15 35 νύμων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ τῆς ὅλης ἐξελιχθείσης | φάλαγγος, ἵνα μένωσιν  
πάλιν οἱ δεξιοὶ δεξιοὶ καὶ οἱ εὐώνυμοι ὡσαύτως.

M f. 119<sup>v</sup>

- Ὁ δὲ Λάκων γίνεται κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ οὐραγὸς ἐνὸς τῶν ἄκρων στίχων προπορευόμενος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον κατόπιν ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
καὶ ἕως τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ | δόρῳ στρεφόμεθα, ὁ μὲν οὐραγὸς  
40 ἀντίνωτος στή τοῦ οὐραγοῦ τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς μετα-  
βέβληται, ὁ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἕως  
τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, ὁ μὲν ἄκρος τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς  
ἀντίνωτος στή τοῦ οὐραγοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἔμπρο-  
σθεν οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ στίχου καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους τῶν στίχων ἕκαστος. κατὰ  
45 δὲ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ τελευταίου ζυγοῦ προπορευόμενος καὶ  
τούτου κατόπιν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ζυγὸν τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐφεξῆς  
οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ζυγῶν ἀντίνωτοι ἑαυτοῖς γένωνται κατὰ τὴν πρώτην  
στάσιν.

the other files then follow it in order. The countermarch is by ranks when one of the ranks on the edge moves out ahead and assumes its designated position; all the other ranks then follow along in their proper order.

These are the kinds of countermarches named by the ancient writers. They add that there are three ways of executing each of them. In the first we place the phalanx in front of its old position and turn its front around looking toward what had been its rear. They entitle this the Macedonian countermarch, since Philip is supposed to have invented and used it. The second form of making a countermarch occurs when we place the phalanx on the ground right behind its former position and turn its front to face what had been its rear. The authors have called this the Lacedaemonian countermarch. The third form of countermarching does not change the location of the phalanx, but keeps it in the same place. The file leaders, though, are marched into the positions occupied by the rear guards, who, in turn, move to the positions of the file leaders. This is done in such a way that all face to the rear instead of to the original front. This is termed the choric, Cretan, or Persian countermarch.

The Macedonian countermarch is carried out by file when the leader of one of the files on the edge moves forward and across the front of the phalanx, followed by the other men in his file, each in his proper order. The file leader takes position facing the leader of the file on the opposite edge. The rest of the files follow in succession, each file lining up next to the other, facing in the same direction as the file leader or protostates. Similarly it is done by rank when the end man of the first rank moves across the front of the phalanx. He is followed by the rest of the rank, who come to a stop facing the men of the second rank who have not yet begun to move out. For, when we want to use the countermarch in the Macedonian form to occupy the ground in front of the phalanx, we first take the men from the right and have them change to the left of the phalanx as it reverses itself in such a way that the men who were on the right remain on the right and those on the left remain on the left.

The Lacedaemonian countermarch is made by file when the rear guard of one of the end files marches out along the rear and is followed by the man who had been in front of him down to the file leader. If we make the turn to the spear, the rear guard turns again to position himself back to back with the rear guard of the left flank; the man who had been in front of him goes in front of him again and so on to the file leader. If the turn is to the shield, the end man on the left flank positions himself back to back with the rear guard of the right flank, and the rest of the men in the file form in proper order in front of him, and after them each of the files does the same. This is done by the rank when the end man of the last rank marches out with everyone in that same rank following behind him, and the rest of the ranks in turn place themselves with their backs to their former stance.

Γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλως Λάκων ἐξελιγμός, οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρα-  
 50 γῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱλαρχῶν ἐξελισσόντων ἡμῶν καὶ τελευτώντων  
 ἐφ' ἓνα τῶν τελευταίων οὐραγῶν, καὶ κατὰ στίχον μὲν οἶον ὅταν ὁ  
 πρῶτος τοῦ δεξιοῦ στίχου ἐπὶ δόρυ προπορευόμενος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ  
 λοιποὶ τοῦ στίχου ἀντίνωτοι τῷ πρώτῳ στίχῳ τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς  
 γένωνται, κατὰ δὲ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ προπορευό-  
 55 μενος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζυγοῦ ἀντίνωτοι τοῖς οὐρα-  
 γοῖς γένωνται, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους πάντες ζυγοὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 τάξιν φυλάττοντες.

Ὁ δὲ χορείος καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ οὐραγὸς  
 τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς κατὰ νῶτα τῶν οὐραγῶν προπορευόμενος ἐπα-  
 60 κολουθούντων αὐτῷ κατόπιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχου, ὁ δὲ  
 πρωτοστάτης τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς προπορευόμενος τὸ τῆς φάλαγ-  
 γος μέτωπον ἐπακολουθούντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἀντι-  
 λάβωσι τόπους, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν στίχων μεταλαμβάνοντες  
 A f. 15<sup>v</sup> ἀντὶ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπιφανείας τὴν ὀπισθεν. | κατὰ δὲ ζυγὸν οὕτως  
 65 ὅταν ὁ μὲν τῶν λοχαγῶν ζυγὸς ἐπὶ δόρυ προπορευόμενος τὸν δεξιὸν  
 στίχον τῆς φάλαγγος, ὁ δὲ τῶν οὐραγῶν ζυγὸς προπορευόμενος τὸν  
 στίχον τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς ὁ μὲν τῶν λοχαγῶν ζυγὸς καταλάβῃ τὸν  
 τοῦ οὐραγοῦ, ὁ δὲ οὐραγὸς τὸν τῶν λοχαγῶν, ἐπομένων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ζυγῶν καὶ μεταλαμβάνόντων ἀντὶ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπιφανείας  
 70 τὴν ὀπισθεν.

Ταῦτα περὶ κλίσεως καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ ἐξελιγμοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων καθ' ἃ στρέφεσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα λέγομεν.

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24: K-R 128, Erck 57.

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24: 1 κδ' M: ιε' A: om. P || 25 αὐτῷ A: αὐτῶν MP || 26 λοχαγοῦ . . . ἄκρου MP: ἐτέρου  
 ἄκρου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ A || 30 γένωνται MP: γίνωνται A || 34 τῆς ἐξελιττομένης φάλαγγος MP: om.  
 A || 36 οἱ<sup>2</sup> A: om. MP || 37 ὁ<sup>2</sup> A: om. MP || 40 ἡ . . . μεταβέβληται MP: om. A || 52 αὐτὸν MP: αὐτοῦ  
 A || 68 τὸν τῶν A: τὸ τῶν MP || 71 ἐπιστροφῆς K-R: περιστροφῆς codd.

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24: Cf. Aelianum, 27-28; Arrianum, p. 34-37.

A variation may be made in the Laconian countermarch. Instead of having the rear guards begin our countermarch, it can be initiated by the ilarchs and concluded with one of the last rear guards. This may be done by file, as in the case of the first man of the right file marching out to the spear, followed by the rest of the file, and placing themselves back to back with the first file of the left flank. It can be done by rank, as when the end man of the first rank moves out, followed by the rest of the men in the rank who place themselves back to back with the rear guards, they and all the ranks following them maintaining their original order.

The choric countermarch is done by file when the rear guard of the right flank marches out along the rear of the other rear guards with the other men in his file following along behind him. The protostates of the left flank, with the rest following him, moves out along the front of the phalanx, and the two files change places with each other. The rest of the files change in a similar manner so that they face the rear instead of the front. This can be done by rank when the rank of the file leaders turns to the spear and moves out along the right file of the phalanx, while the rank of the rear guards moves out along the file of the left flank with the rank of the file leaders taking the position of that of the rear guards, and the rear guard taking that of the file leaders. The other ranks follow them, and all change to face the rear instead of the front.

This is all we have to say about turnings, wheelings about, countermarches, and similar ways of changing the front of a phalanx.

## κε'.

## Περὶ ἐναλλαγῆς σχήματος.

Κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν δὲ σχήματος κινεῖται φάλαγξ ὅταν ἀπὸ σχήματος εἰς ἕτερον σχῆμα τὴν φάλαγγα μεταβάλωμεν, οἷον ὅταν ἐκ  
 M f. 120 5 τετραγώνου εἰς ἑτερόμηκες ἢ τοῦναντίον. κατὰ δὲ διαίρεσιν ἐνοειδούς φάλαγγος ὅταν εἰς δύο τὴν μίαν διέλωμεν, κατὰ δὲ ἔνωσιν οἷον ὅταν τὰς δύο εἰς μίαν συνάπτωμεν.

Χρώμεθα δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐναλλαγῇ τοῦ σχήματος ὅταν κατὰ τι σχῆμα παραταξαμένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῷ λυσιτελοῦντι καὶ ἡμεῖς χρώμεθα  
 10 σχήματι· ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοις φάλαγγος συμβάλλεται σχήματα. οἷον (εἰ) ἐχρήσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιμηκεστέρα τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις ταύτῃ χρησόμεθα, εἰ μὴ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡμῶν κατὰ πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἡλάττωται· ἐπὶ μακρὸν γὰρ ἡ φάλαγξ παρατεινομένη λεπτύνεται τε καὶ τὸ βάθος αὐτῆς ὑποτέμνεται, ὃ  
 15 πολὺν φέρει τοῖς κεκρημένοις τὸν κίνδυνον. διαιροῦμεν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ὅλην ὅταν κατὰ διάφορα συστήματα καὶ μέρη ὀρῶμεν τοὺς ἐναντίους καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπερχομένους, συνάπτομεν δὲ οἷον ὅταν κατὰ μονοφαλαγγίαν ἡμῖν προσβάλλειν οἱ πολέμιοι μέλλωσιν.

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25: K-R 134, Erck 59.

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25: 1 κε' De: ις' A: om. MP || 11 εἰ De: om. codd. || 18 προσβάλλειν A: προβάλλειν MP

## κς'.

## Περὶ μηνσόρων

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν οὐ μόνον κινηθῆναι τὴν φάλαγγα χρή ἀλλὰ πάντως αὐτὴν καὶ διαναπαύσασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον εἶπειν περὶ συγκατα-  
 5 σκηνώσεως καὶ πρό γε ταύτης περὶ μηνσόρων, οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ προτρέχοντες εὐτρεπίζουσι τὰ στρατόπεδα. δεῖ γὰρ | αὐτοὺς εἰδέναι καὶ διὰ πείρας καλῶς ἔχειν εἴ τίς ἐστὶν πόα τοῖς ἵπποις ἄβρωτος, μάλιστα δὲ θανάσιμος, ὥστε τάχιον αὐτῆς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, δι' ἐτέρων δὲ τόπων τῶν ἵππων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατευ-  
 A f. 16 10 μάτων ὑποδοχὴν. πειράζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, τὰ μὲν ῥευστὰ εἰ ἀλώδη ἢ πικρά ἢ πότιμα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐστῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ εἰ φθοροποιὰ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατ' ἐπιτήδευσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὥστε κἂν τούτοις τῶν βλαπτόντων ἀπέχεσθαι. ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ μέτρα πρὸς

## 25.

Change of Formation.<sup>1</sup>

The change of formation is the movement of a phalanx when we have it pass over from one formation to another, such as from a square to a rectangle or the opposite. Then there is the division of a unified phalanx, when we divide one into two, and the uniting, as when we join two into one.

We employ the change of formation when we see the enemy lining up in some particular formation and we then adopt the formation most useful in the situation. For the various formations of a phalanx there are appropriate counter formations. If, for example, the enemy line up their phalanx in a very broad front, we shall line ours up in similar fashion, unless the strength of our army be significantly inferior to theirs. A phalanx that is too greatly extended becomes too thin and far too shallow, which can put it in a very precarious position. We break up our unified phalanx when we observe the enemy advancing toward us in several separate units. We bring it together when the enemy show the intention of attacking in a single mass.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Spaulding: "This chapter is highly characteristic of our author. Never by any chance does he take the initiative; he always leaves it to the enemy. He has a distinctly defensive mind, and sees so clearly what the enemy may do to him that he has no time to think of what he may do to the enemy."

## 26.

## Quartering Parties.

It is obvious that the phalanx can not always be on the move but has to stop for rest, and so we must speak about setting up camp. But first something must be said about the quartering parties, which ride on ahead of the army to prepare the campsites. The men in these parties should have the knowledge and a good deal of experience to determine which grasses the horses cannot eat, especially poisonous ones, so they will not lose time in getting them away from there, and make arrangements for the horses and for the shelter of the troops in some other place. They should also test the water, first, if it comes from streams, whether it is salty, bitter, or potable; if from standing pools, whether, in addition to the above, it might be harmful either by nature or by device of the enemy, and in this way too they may escape injury. They



τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ χώρησιν κατὰ τε ἀραίωσιν καὶ πύκνωσιν, οὐ σχοινίοις  
 15 χρωμένους, γελοῖον γὰρ ἂν ἴσως τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ βελῶν ἀφέσεσιν, ὃ δὴ  
 τὰχιστόν ἐστιν πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην ἀναμέτρησιν.

Δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστου τάγματος ἔχειν λόχον ἕνα μεθ' ἑαυτῶν  
 μεθ' ἑνὸς σημείου τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος, ἵνα μετὰ τὸ ἀφορισθῆναι τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον, καθ' οὓς ἂν τόπους συντάξωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ μῆνσορες,  
 20 ὁμοίως τῇ τάξει τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐκείσε τὰ σημεῖα προκαταπήξαντες  
 δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑποδείξωσιν ἔνθα χρή τούτων ἕκαστον οἰκείως  
 M f. 120<sup>v</sup> διαναπαύσασθαι.

Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἱππέας εἶναι διὰ τὸ προτρέχειν τῆς φά-  
 λαγγος καὶ πον καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μικρὸν ἐπιτρέχειν, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ  
 25 καὶ ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν διωκομένους μὴ ῥαδίως ἀλίσκεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν  
 τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῇ μὴ πόρρωθεν προτρέχειν τῆς φάλαγγος ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπ'  
 αὐτῆς ὀρᾶσθαι, διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις.

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26: K-R 136: Erck 60.

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26: 1 κς' De: ιζ' A: om. MP || 2 μηνσώρων K-R: ἀπλήκτου A: om. MP || 3 χρή ἀλλὰ A: ἀλλὰ  
 χρη MP || 8 δὲ A: om. MP || 14 σχοινίοις A: σχοίνοις MP || 15 χρωμένους K-R: χρωμένοις codd. ||  
 21 ὑποδείξωσιν A: ὑποδείξουσιν MP

⟨κζ'.

Περὶ συγκατασκηνώσεως.)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ μηνσώρων οὕτω πως ἔχειν ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν, ἀκο-  
 λούθως καὶ περὶ συγκατασκηνώσεως λέξομεν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι  
 5 δεῖ πάντως τοὺς κατὰ μίαν ἵλην τεταγμένους κατὰ μίαν ἢ καὶ δύο  
 σκηναὶς ἀναπαύεσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δευτέρον τάξιν οὐ λύον-  
 τας, ὥστε συνεσθιοντάς τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ συγκαθεύδοντας πολλήν  
 ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν συμφωνίαν, καὶ κοινὴν μὲν τὴν ζωὴν κοινόν  
 δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν θάνατον, ἔχειν τε ῥαδίως πρὸς τὴν ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξι  
 10 σύνταξιν.]

A f. 16<sup>v</sup>

Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον μετ' ἀλλήλων διάγοντες χρή τὰς μὲν τρο-  
 φὰς συνάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἀπέναντι  
 τῶν ποδῶν καταπηγνύναι, τὰς δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνακλίνειν ὥστε  
 τὴν κοίλην αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐνδοθεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀρᾶν, ἵν'  
 15 ἀναστάντες ἐκεῖνοι ἐτοιμῶς ταῦτας ἀναλαμβάνουσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα  
 τῶν ὀπλων κεῖσθαι μὲν ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεν-

should be able to measure the space required for the troops, whether spread out or packed tightly together. They should not use ropes, which might seem ridiculous, but bow shots, which are the quickest means of measurement for this purpose.

The quartering party should be accompanied by one file from each tagma, bearing with it the standard of its tagma, so that when the campsite has been laid out, that is, when the quartering parties have designated the locations the units of the phalanx should occupy, they may plant the standards to show their own men where each unit is supposed to come to a halt.

These parties must be mounted, since they are to ride ahead of the phalanx and also on occasion ride up a bit toward the enemy, and in case they should be pursued by them they will not be captured easily. In hostile country they must not ride out too far ahead of the phalanx but keep within sight of it, because of enemy attacks.

## [27.

### Setting up Camp.]

Now that we have explained what is expected of the quartering parties, we should next turn to the arrangement of the tents. First, it is most essential that the men who form one file should sleep together in one or two tents without breaking up their order of first and second ranks. In this way, eating and sleeping together, they should develop a strong team spirit among themselves and come to realize that as they live together they may have to face death together, and they will be more at ease with the whole organization of the phalanx.

Living with one another in this manner, they should place their rations in the middle of the tent. Their spears should be stuck in the ground right at their feet, and their shields placed leaning against them with the concave side turned in toward the soldiers, so that as soon as they get up they can easily grab hold of them. The rest of the armament should be placed at the left side of the soldiers as they sleep. The men

ναζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφιένινυσθαι πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πόδας, εἶτα τὰς κνήμας, εἶτα τοὺς μηρούς, εἶτα τὸν θώρακα, εἶτα τὴν περικεφαλαίαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν διεζῶσθαι τὴν τε ῥομφαίαν καὶ τὸ τόξον καὶ τὴν φαρέ-  
 20 τραν καὶ τελευταῖον τοὺς βραχίονας. ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης τάξεως ὥστε μὴδὲν ἐμπόδιον ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων συμβαίνειν τῇ τῶν δευ-  
 τέρων ὅπλων περιβολῇ.

Ἄναγκαῖον δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην σκηνὴν καὶ φύλακας ἔχειν νυκτὸς, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὰς κλοπὰς, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης  
 25 συνηθείας ἐγρηγορωτέρους τε καὶ ἐτοιμοτέρους πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις τῶν πολεμίων καθίστασθαι.

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27: K-R 138, Erck 61.

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27: 1 κζ' De: om. MPA || 2 περὶ συγκατασκηνώσεως K-R: om. codd.

κη'.

Ποῦ δεῖ τάττειν τοὺς πεζοὺς κατασκηνοῦν μέλλοντας  
 καὶ ποῦ τοὺς ἵππέας.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς τάττειν κατὰ τὸν χάρακα πλησιαίτερον  
 5 τὰς σκηναὺς ἔχοντας· οὕτω γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς ἔξει τὰ κατὰ τὸν χάρακα, οὔτε ἵππων φροντίδα τοὺς πεζοὺς ἔχοντας οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τούτων ἔνεκα φέρουσι στρατιῶται. τοὺς δὲ ἵππέας κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατο-  
 πέδου διὰ τὰς νυκτερινὰς τοξείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅς ᾧ οἱ ἵπποι πολ-  
 f. 121 λάκεις τραν | ματιζόμενοι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ κακῶς πάσχουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 10 τὸ στρατεύμα συνταράττουσιν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναγκαῖον καταλιμπάνειν δύο εὐθείας ὁδοὺς κατὰ τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ τεμνούσας ἀλλήλας, καθ' ἃς οἱ βουλό-  
 μени διὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ἐκάστῃ χρεῖας ἐξιέναι τε καὶ εἰσιέναι δι'  
 f. 17 αὐτῶν | ἔχουσι, καὶ πρὸς ταύταις ἑτέραν περιέχουσιν τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
 15 στρατεύματος, ὥστε τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπισκεπτόμενον τὸν χάρακα κατ' ἐκείνην περιεῖναι καὶ τοὺς παρεκειμένους ἐκεῖσε διαβιβάζε-  
 σθαι. χρήσιμον δὲ καπὶ τῶν τμημάτων ἕκαστον, ἃ δὴ ποιοῦσιν αἱ εἰρημέναι ὁδοί, ὁδοὺς ὁμοίως καταλιμπάνειν τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον·  
 λυσιτελεῖ δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα ὁπότεν πυκνότερον ἀλλήλαις τὰς σκηναὺς  
 20 καταπήξωμεν. χρή δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἵστα-  
 σθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ παρέρχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐξόδων, τὸ

should go about putting on their equipment by beginning with their feet, then the lower legs, their thighs, and then put on their breastplate, then their head covering. After that they should gird on their sword, then the bow and quiver, and finally their shoulder pieces. The reason for following this order is to prevent one piece of equipment already put on from interfering with the adjustment of armament meant to be put on later.

Each tent must post a sentinel at night. One reason is to guard against theft, but the main reason is that this system will get the men up more quickly and better prepared to meet the enemy.

## 28.

### Planning the Encampment: Where to Station the Infantry and the Cavalry.

The infantry should be stationed with their tents very close to the wall of the camp. This will assure security along the wall, for the infantry do not have to be concerned about horses or their equipment, which cavalymen have to carry. The cavalry, in turn, should be placed in the middle of the campsite in case the enemy fire arrows at night, for when horses are wounded not only do the animals suffer greatly, but they usually upset the whole army.

Space must be left for two straight streets intersecting each other in the center of the camp. These enable men to enter and leave at will, depending on what they have to do. There should also be another street passing around the whole army to enable the general to ride along it to inspect the fortifications and the men stationed there. In each of the quarters formed by the two main streets, it is helpful to leave space for streets lined up in like fashion. This is particularly practical when the tents have been pitched very closely together. These smaller streets should extend to the

μὲν διὰ τοὺς κατασκόπους, τὸ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ χάρακος εἰς τὸ μὴ πολλαχοῦ κατατέμνεσθαι.

Λυσιτελὲς δὲ τὸν χάρακα ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων συντάττειν  
 25 σκηνῶν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταύτας, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰλῶν ἐλέ-  
 γομεν, κύκλῳ τῶν ἰδίων σκηνῶν ἔχειν τὰ τε δόρατα καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκάστην ἰλην τῶν κατὰ τὰ πέρατα τεταγμένων τοῦ στρατοπέδου  
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ δόρατα καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας  
 εἰς τὸν κοινὸν χάρακα συντάττειν, ὅστις κύκλος ἐστὶν ἔνοπλος καὶ  
 30 περίβολος συνέχων τὸ στράτευμα. μὴ ἐναλλάττειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ  
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ ἐμπεπιστεῦσθαι τὸν χάρακα, ὥστε διὰ πείρας τὴν  
 φυλακὴν ἔχοντας μὴ μάτην ταράττεσθαι μήτε ταῖς τυχούσαις ἀφορ-  
 μαῖς εἰς πόλεμον ἀνίστασθαι τε καὶ διεγείρεσθαι.

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ μόναις κεχρῆσθαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις εἰσόδοις τε  
 35 καὶ ἐξόδοις καθάπερ τισὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πύλαις, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ δι'  
 ἄλλας πολλὰς αἰτίας, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τοὺς κατασκόπους, οἱ ἐπειδὴν  
 τῶν πυλῶν ἐντὸς γένωνται ἅτε δὴ ξένοι ὄντες τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύμα-  
 τος ὧδε κἀκεῖ βλέπουσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶνται  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ποίας ἱλῆς ἐστὶν καὶ τίνα τὸν ἱλάρχην κέκτηται καὶ τίς  
 40 ὁ τούτου δεξιὸς καὶ τίς ὁ εὐώνυμος εἰς παράταξιν, κἂν μὲν τούτους  
 17<sup>v</sup> ἐπαληθεύοιεν ἀφίενται, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, κατεχόμενοι τῷ στρατηγῷ  
 παραδίδονται. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐξελέγχειν τοὺς κατασκόπους δύναται τὸ  
 τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ καὶ προαναστέλλειν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐφόδους, ἅτε δὴ παρ'  
 121<sup>v</sup> ἡμῖν ἐρευνωμένων τε καὶ | συνεχομένων.

28: K-R 140, Erck 62.

28: 1 κη' De: ιη' A: om. MP || 14 ἔχουσι MP: ἔχωσι A || 21 ἐξόδων MP: ὁδῶν A || 22 καὶ A:  
 om. MP || 31 ἐμπεπιστεῦσθαι K-R: ἐμπεπιστεῦθαι codd. || 40 τούτους MP: τούτοις A || 44 ἡμῖν  
 MP: ἡμῶν A

⟨κθ'.

Περὶ χάρακος καὶ φυλακῆς.)

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατασκηνώσαντας εἶτα τροφῆς μετα-  
 σχόντας εὐθέως ἀνίστασθαι καὶ διορύττειν τὰς τάφρους. καὶ τὸν μὲν  
 5 χοῦν ἐντὸς ἀναρρίπτειν ἐφ' ὃ δεῖ τὸν χάρακα μετὰ τὴν διώρυγα ἀνελ-  
 θεῖν πόδας τρεῖς, πλάτος δὲ τῇ τάφρῳ παρέχειν καὶ βάθος ὁμοίως  
 πόδας πέντε. ἡ δὲ τάφρος καὶ ὁ χάραξ ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἢ ἑτερομήκει

wall but not cut through it, like the main thoroughfares, as a precaution against spies, but mostly because it is safer not to have too many openings in the wall.

It is also convenient to form the enclosure by using the tents around the outside. For these should not, as we recommended for the other files, have the spears and shields of the men in a circle inside their own tents. Rather, each of the files posted on the edges of the camping area should store other equipment in their tent, but should arrange their spears and shields altogether in a sort of palisade forming a circle of arms and a fence surrounding the army. These files should not be changed, but the same men should always have responsibility for the fortification. In this way they will gain experience as guards, will not be upset to no purpose, nor become aroused and get set for battle at the slightest disturbance.

It is essential that only the main thoroughfares with their gates be used to enter and to leave the camp. There are many reasons for this, but the chief one is because of spies. When such persons pass in through the gates, they will be looking about in all directions, inasmuch as they would be strangers in the midst of the army. This may lead to their being detained and interrogated. Each may be asked to what squad he belongs, who is his ilarch, who is to his right and who to his left in formation. If they answer correctly, they are released; if not, they are arrested and brought before the general. This procedure not only serves to detect spies, but actually forestalls their intrusions, since they will be discovered and apprehended by us.

## [29.

### Fortifying and Protecting the Camp.]

As soon as the soldiers have pitched their tents and gotten something to eat, they should get up and start digging trenches. They should make a ditch five feet wide and five feet deep.' The excavated earth should be thrown to the inside, forming an embankment behind the ditch three feet high. The trench and the embankment should form the outline of a square or rectangle. The tents, then, will be in the

σχήματι διατετυπώσθωσαν ὥστε τὰς σκηναὺς ἀλλήλων ἔχεσθαι κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξι σύνταξιν καὶ τὸν χάρακα δὲ ἀσφαλέστερον  
 10 ἔξειν· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τεταγμένοι πάντες ἅμα πολεμεῖν  
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιόντας δύνανται, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο εἰς κύκλον  
 σχηματιζόμενου τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι τῆς μάχης ἀνθέξον-  
 ται καθ' ὧν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι. χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην  
 15 πλευρὰν τοῦ χάρακος ἀφορίζειν στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ νυκτὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 ἐπιτιθεμένων καταλαμβάνειν τὸν πάσχοντα τόπον καὶ συμμαχεῖν  
 τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας συμφύρεσθαι χωρὶς προστάγματος ὥδε  
 κάκεϊ φερομένους.

Τὰς δὲ πύλας τῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὁδῶν νυκτὸς ἀνορύττειν ὥστε  
 τὸν ὅλον ἐπιζευχθῆναι χάρακα καὶ τὴν τάφρον, ἵνα μὴ τῷ ἀνεμπο-  
 20 δίστῳ τῆς εἰσόδου τολμᾶν πρὸς νυκτομαχίαν κατ' αὐτὰς θαρρήσωσιν  
 οἱ πολέμιοι. ἀσφαλὲς δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐκάτερα τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁδοῦ ἃ δὴ  
 παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις εἰσὶν τάττειν στρατιώτας ἀνὰ δέκα ἐν σχήματι  
 χάρακος καὶ αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ὥς εἴ τις τῶν πολεμίων τὴν τάφρον  
 παρελθὼν ἐντὸς τοῦ χάρακος γένηται ὑπὸ τούτων συνέχεται.

25 Ἄναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ τριβόλους προτιθέναι πρὸ πάσης τῆς τάφρου  
 ἐπὶ πῆχεις κ', καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἐκτὸς σπαρτία λεπτὰ πασσάλους  
 διατεινόμενα ἀφ' ὧν κώδωνες ἔστωσαν ἀπηρωρημένοι, ἵνα τῶν πο-  
 18 λεμίων ἡρέμα νυκτὸς | ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ διασειόντων αὐτοὺς τὴν  
 τούτων παρουσίαν καταμηνύσουσιν. χρή δὲ ἕκαστον ἰλάρχην τῶν  
 30 ἐφεσθηκότων τῆς τάφρου ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τοὺς τριβόλους τῆς ἰδίας  
 ἱλῆς, τὸ μὲν ἵν' ἔχοι ταῦτα καὶ μὴ ἐπιλείπη τῆς χρείας καλούσης, τὸ  
 δ' ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἰδίους βλάβῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐξοδον.

Ἀσφαλὲς δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἱλας τοῦ χάρακος προκαθέζεσθαι καθά-  
 περ τινὰ προπύργια, κατὰ στίχους δύο πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς βλέποντας, οὐ  
 35 διηρημένους ἀλλὰ συνημμένους τῷ χάρακι, οὐδ' ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀναπανο-  
 122 μένους ἀλλὰ κατὰ ζυγὰ συγκαθεύδοντας οἷον πρῶτον μὲν τὸν | ἰλάρχην  
 καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, εἶτα τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφεξῆς  
 ὁμοίως ἄχρι τῶν ἰδίων οὐραγῶν, ὥς εἴ γε συμβαίῃ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν  
 ἰλῶν κατὰ τοῦ χάρακος χωρήσαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκατέ-  
 40 ρωθεν βάλλοντας καὶ μᾶλλον τραυματίζειν αὐτούς. οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαῖον  
 καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς διορύττειν τάφρον καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὁμοίως  
 τῷ χάρακι.

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου ἐκ τῶν  
 παρακειμένων ἰλῶν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἐξιέναι τοῦ στρα-  
 45 τοπέδου ἐπὶ δύο ἢ καὶ τρεῖς τόξου βολὰς μετὰ τινος μετρίου θορύβου,  
 κάκεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἤδη γενομένης ὑποστρέφειν ἡρέμα ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας  
 σκηναὺς πρὸ τοῦ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τούτου γὰρ  
 δηλουμένου τοῖς ἐναντίοις νυκτομαχίαν καὶ μᾶλλον φεύγονται ὑπο-  
 πτεύοντες κατὰ νῶτον αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν τῆς φά-  
 50 λαγγος ἐξιόντας ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τῷ χάρακι προσπελάσωσιν.

same relative position as the units in the phalanx, which should make the fortification all the more secure. For all the men stationed on one side can form up and go into action against the enemy in unison. This could not be done if the embankment were shaped like a circle, for then only the troops directly attacked by the enemy would be able to fight back. In case the enemy attacks at night, it is a good idea to assign some soldiers on each side of the fortification to move to the point under attack and support the troops fighting at that spot. Otherwise the whole camp will be thrown into confusion with men running here and there without orders.

At night the gateways of the camp should be entrenched, so that the embankment and ditch completely surround the camp and the enemy may not be encouraged to attempt an attack at night because the entrances present no obstacles. A good precautionary measure is to station about ten soldiers, lined up along the walls, on both sides of the road to each gate, so that if any of the enemy cross the ditch and get inside the fortification, they will be apprehended by these men.

Caltrops should also be laid down all along in front of the ditch in a band twelve and a half meters wide.<sup>2</sup> Then, further out beyond these, thin cords should be strung on stakes with bells suspended from them, so that if the enemy move up secretly by night, the bells will be shaken and give warning of their presence. Each of the ilarchs stationed along the ditch is responsible for gathering up the caltrops of his own file, partly to hold on to them so they will be available when needed and partly to prevent injury to his own troops when they leave the camp.

Another precautionary measure is to have some files establish themselves a distance from the camp in something like forward towers. They should be in two lines facing outward, not too far, but fairly close to the camp. These men should not be allowed to sleep as they please, but only two at a time, for example, first the ilarch and his second man, then the third and fourth men, and so on down to the rear guards. Then, if it should happen that the enemy, heading for the camp, move in between these groups, they may fire at them from both sides and seriously injure them. A ditch must also be dug around these outposts, and other dispositions made as in the main fortification.

A good way of misleading the enemy is to have some men from the squads posted around each of the roads go out of the camp around sunset for two or three bowshots, making a moderate amount of noise. Then, after nightfall they should return quietly to their own tents before the gates of the camp are closed. On observing this the enemy will be less likely to make an attack at night, for if they move in toward the camp they will believe that those troops who left the phalanx in the evening are still out there behind them.

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<sup>1</sup>The Byzantine foot was equal to 31.23 cm., a fraction longer than an English foot: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 20.

<sup>2</sup>Twenty picheis.



29: K-R 142, Erck 68.

29: 1 καθ' De: om. MPA || 2 περί . . . φυλακῆς K-R: om. codd. || 4 τὰς A: om. MP || 7 ἐν A: om. MP || ἡ A: om. MP || 9-10 καὶ . . . ἔξειν A: om. MP || 10 πάντες K-R: πάντας codd. || 17 φερομένους MA: φέρομεν P || 20 κατ' αὐτὰς A: κατὰ ταύτας MP || 24 συνέχεται M: συνέχοιτο A: συνέχεσθαι P || 26 ἐπὶ . . . ἐκτὸς A: καὶ τούτων ἐπὶ πῆχεις εἴκοσι πάλιν ἐκτὸς MP || 30 ἐπισυναγαγεῖν A: ἐπισυνάγειν MP || 35 ἀναπαυομένους MP: ἀναπαυομένους A || 40 ἀναγκαῖον A: om. MP

### Λ'.

#### Περὶ τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων τῷ στρατηγῷ.

Δεῖ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον σύνταγμα ἀφορίζειν ἄνδρας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τέσσαρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ, ὁ δὲ διὰ σάλπιγγος, ὁ δὲ διὰ  
5 σημείων δηλοῦσι τὰ κελευόμενα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἃ μὲν δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς παρόντας, ἃ δὲ δι' ἐτέρων τοὺς ἀπόντας κελεύει, ἀνάγκη εἶναι τινὰς παρ' αὐτῷ δι' ὧν ἂν | αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα προτρέπεται. πάλιν τῶν κελευομένων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ μερικά, τὰ δὲ κα-  
18<sup>v</sup> θολικά, καὶ μερικὰ μὲν λέγω τὰ πρὸς ἓνα ἄνδρα ἢ καὶ πλείονας δι' ἐτέρου τὴν προτροπὴν ἢ ἀποτροπὴν φέροντα, καθολικά δὲ τὰ πρὸς  
10 πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας. τὸν μὲν οὖν τὰ μερικά ὑπηρετούμενον προ- στάγματα ὑπηρέτην οἱ παλαιοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν, τὸν δὲ τὰ καθολικά στρατοκῆρυκα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἡρεμία πάντοτε ὥστε διὰ τῆς τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆς  
15 ἀποφέρεσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι τὰ προστάγματα ἄλλ' ἢν ὅτε καὶ θορύβου καθεστῶτος οὐκ ἐξηκούετο ἢ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνή, ἐπενόησαν τὰ σημεία, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ σημειοφόροι λέγονται, ἵνα—νῦν μὲν οὕτως νῦν δὲ ἐτέρως κινουμένων αὐτῶν καθὼς συνθήκας περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξουσιν ὁ μὲν  
στρατηγὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας—μαν-  
20 θάνοιεν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελευόμενα. ἔτι, ἐπεὶ ποτὲ μὲν ὁμίχλη καταλαβοῦσα, ποτὲ δὲ κονιορτὸς ἀνεγχευόμενος ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ σημεία ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διεκώλυεν, ἐπενόησαν τὰς σάλπιγγας, ἵνα  
f. 122<sup>v</sup> καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς δύναται μηνύειν τῷ στρατῷ | ἃ πράττειν αὐτοὺς ἐγκελεύεται. καὶ γνωριμωτέρα ἢ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆ ἡσυχίας  
25 ἐνούσης, πολυφωνοτέρα δὲ ἢ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἂν τε καθαρὸς ἢ ὁ ἀήρ, ἂν τε μὴ, καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῖς πολλοῖς χρησιμωτέρα. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ὄψεις πάντων μόγις ἂν τις πείσειεν προσέχειν τοῖς σημείοις ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ περιστρεφόντων τὸ ὄμμα, τῆς δὲ φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος ἀπο-

## 30.

## The General's Staff.

In each unit four men should be assigned to transmit orders, two by voice, one by trumpet, and one by signals. Sometimes the general gives his orders in person to those present, sometimes through others to men who are elsewhere. He must, then, have people with him who can convey to others what he would have them do. Commands, moreover, are of two kinds, particular and general. By particular I mean orders prescribing or prohibiting certain things addressed to one man or to several. General orders are addressed to all the soldiers. The ancient authors designate the man who delivers particular commands as an orderly and the man who proclaims general ones as the army's herald.

But since it is not always quiet enough for the herald's voice to transmit the commands to the army, and often enough there is so much noise that the herald's voice cannot be heard at all, signals have been devised, and those who make them are called signal bearers. By moving them now in one way, now in another, as they shall have previously agreed upon, the orders of the general are passed on from himself to the officers and from them to the soldiers. Nevertheless, sometimes a thick fog settles in or a cloud of dust is stirred up, and the signals cannot be seen by the army. In that case, trumpets are put to use to enable the general to convey his commands to the army. Although the voice of the herald is the easiest to understand if everything is quiet, the sound of the trumpet carries better, whether the air is clear or not, and it is more convenient than signals. For the men are looking about in all directions, and it is very difficult to get all of them to watch out for the signals.

τελουμένης πάντες αἰσθήσονται κἂν ὁ μὲν ᾧδε, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸν ὀφθαλ-  
30 μὸν περιτρέπη.

30: K-R 146, Erck 64.

30: 1 λ' De: ιθ' A: om. MP || 18 συνθήκας K-R: συνθήκης codd. || 27 προσέχειν A: προ-  
σέχει MP || 29 αἰσθήσονται A: ἡσθήσονται MP || 30 περιτρέπη A: περιέπη M: περιέσπη P

### λα'.

Περὶ οἰκονομίας πολέμου καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ κεφαλαίων.

f. 19 Εἵπερ ἄλλο τι μέγιστον τῶν τῆς στρατηγικῆς μερῶν ἢ περὶ τοὺς  
πολέμους οἰκονομία· οὐκοῦν περὶ αὐτῆς διαλαβεῖν | μέλλοντες πρό-  
5 τερον ἐροῦμεν τί ἐστὶν φάλαγξ ὀρθή, φάλαγξ πλαγία, λοξή, πρόταξις  
ἤτοι πρόσταξις, ἔνταξις, ἐπίταξις, ὑπόταξις, παρεμβολή, διπλασια-  
σμός, ὑπερκέρασις, ὑπερφαλάγγωσις, πλίνθιον, πλαίσιον, φάλαγξ  
ἀντίστομος, ἀμφίστομος, ἑτερόστομος. ἔτι διοριστέον τί ἐστὶν διφα-  
λαγγία συνημμένη καὶ τίς διηρημένη, καὶ τῆς συνημμένης τίς ἐστὶν  
10 ἔμβολος καὶ τίς κοιλέμβολος, καὶ τίς ὁμοιόστομος, καὶ τίς μηνοειδής,  
καὶ τίς κυκλοειδής.

Ὅρθή φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ βάθος τοῦ  
μήκους, πλαγία φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ μῆκος τοῦ  
βάθους. λοξή φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ θάτερον κέρας προτεινομένη τῆς φά-  
15 λαγγος καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμπλεκομένη, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὑπο-  
κρατοῦσα ὅσον μὴ παρελθεῖν τὸ βάθος τοῦ προλαβόντος. πρόσταξις  
ἐστὶν ὅταν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα πλευρῶν προστάξωμεν τοῦ μετώπου  
τῆς φάλαγγος. ἔνταξις ἐστὶν ὅταν ἔτι ἀπύκνου οὔσης τῆς φάλαγγος  
εἰς τὰ κενὰ αὐτῆς διαστήματα ἄνδρα παρ' ἄνδρα τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάτ-  
20 τωμεν, οὐ σφενδόνας χρωμένους ἀλλ' ἀκοντίους καὶ βέλεσιν. ἐπίτα-  
ξις ἐστὶν ὅταν κατόπιν τῶν οὐραγῶν τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττωμεν. ὑπόταξις  
ἐστὶν ὅταν παρ' ἐκάτερα μέρη τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττωμεν.  
παραμβολή ἐστὶν ὅταν προτεταγμένων τινῶν ἐν ἀποστάσει ἀλλήλων  
εἰς τὰ μετὰ τούτων διαστήματα παρεμβάλλωμεν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐκ  
25 τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ φάλαγγι.

Διπλασιασμός ἐστὶν ὅταν τὸ μῆκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος  
κατὰ ἀριθμὸν προσώπων ἢ τόπον διπλασιάσωμεν. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο  
κατὰ μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὅταν ἀφαιροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ βάθει ἐπιστατῶν  
μεταξὺ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν αὐτοὺς παρεμβάλλωμεν, κατὰ δὲ τόπον ὅταν

When the trumpet is blown, however, everyone hears it no matter in what direction their eyes are turned.

### 31.

#### The Management of Battle and Associated Topics.

There is hardly any aspect of strategical science more important than the management of battle. Still, before entering upon our discussion of that, we have to explain a number of terms. What is a straight phalanx, a broad phalanx, oblique order, protaxis or prostaxis, entaxis, epitaxis, hypotaxis, parembole, doubling, single envelopment, double envelopment, square, oblong, two-faced phalanx, amphistomos, heterostomos? We must also define what is a unified double phalanx, a divided one; of the unified, what is the wedge, the hollow wedge, what is like-fronted, what is semicircular, and what is circular.

A straight phalanx is many times deeper than it is broad; a broad phalanx is many times broader than it is deep. An oblique phalanx has one of its wings extended forward, and it is this which engages the enemy in combat, while the other wing holds back at a distance less than the depth of the advanced phalanx. Prostaxis occurs when we post some men from the flanks on both sides out ahead of the front of the phalanx. Entaxis occurs before the phalanx closes up its ranks and we position in the still empty space light-armed troops, one man at a time, armed with javelins or bows, but not slings. Epitaxis is the positioning of the light-armed troops behind the rear guards. Hypotaxis means positioning them off to both sides of the phalanx. Parembole is when we have some men stationed in a forward position and separated from one another, and through the intervals between them we push straight forward some men stationed further back in the phalanx.

In doubling we double the front or the depth of the phalanx, either in the number of men or the space occupied. It is carried out by number when we take out the even-numbered men from the file and move them over to stand between the other

τελουμένης πάντες αἰσθήσονται κἂν ὁ μὲν ᾧδε, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸν ὀφθαλ-  
 30 μὸν περιτρέπη.

30: K-R 146, Erck 64.

30: 1 λ' De: ιθ' A: om. MP || 18 συνθήκας K-R: συνθήκης codd. || 27 προσέχειν A: προ-  
 σέχει MP || 29 αἰσθήσονται A: ἡσθήσονται MP || 30 περιτρέπη A: περιέπη M: περιέσπη P

### λα'.

Περὶ οἰκονομίας πολέμου καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ κεφαλαίων.

A f. 19

Εἵπερ ἄλλο τι μέγιστον τῶν τῆς στρατηγικῆς μερῶν ἢ περὶ τοὺς  
 πολέμους οἰκονομία· οὐκοῦν περὶ αὐτῆς διαλαβεῖν | μέλλοντες πρό-  
 5 τερον ἐροῦμεν τί ἐστὶν φάλαγξ ὀρθή, φάλαγξ πλαγία, λοξή, πρόταξις  
 ἥτοι πρόσταξις, ἔνταξις, ἐπίταξις, ὑπόταξις, παρεμβολή, διπλασια-  
 σμός, ὑπερκέρασις, ὑπερφαλάγγωσις, πλίνθιον, πλαίσιον, φάλαγξ  
 ἀντίστομος, ἀμφίστομος, ἑτερόστομος. ἔτι διοριστέον τί ἐστὶν διφα-  
 λαγγία συνημμένη καὶ τίς διηρημένη, καὶ τῆς συνημμένης τίς ἐστὶν  
 10 ἔμβολος καὶ τίς κοιλέμβολος, καὶ τίς ὁμοιόστομος, καὶ τίς μηνοειδής,  
 καὶ τίς κυκλοειδής.

Ὅρθη φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ βάθος τοῦ  
 μήκους, πλαγία φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ μήκος τοῦ  
 βάθους. λοξή φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ θάτερον κέρας προτεινομένη τῆς φά-  
 15 λαγγος καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμπλεκομένη, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὑπο-  
 κρατοῦσα ὅσον μὴ παρελθεῖν τὸ βάθος τοῦ προλαβόντος. πρόσταξις  
 ἐστὶν ὅταν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἑκάτερα πλευρῶν προστάξωμεν τοῦ μετώπου  
 τῆς φάλαγγος. ἔνταξις ἐστὶν ὅταν ἔτι ἀπύκνου οὔσης τῆς φάλαγγος  
 εἰς τὰ κενὰ αὐτῆς διαστήματα ἄνδρα παρ' ἄνδρα τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάτ-  
 20 τωμεν, οὐ σφενδόναίς χρωμένους ἀλλ' ἀκοντίοις καὶ βέλεσιν. ἐπίτα-  
 ξις ἐστὶν ὅταν κατόπιν τῶν οὐραγῶν τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττωμεν. ὑπόταξις  
 ἐστὶν ὅταν παρ' ἑκάτερα μέρη τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττωμεν.  
 παρεμβολή ἐστὶν ὅταν προτεταγμένων τινῶν ἐν ἀποστάσει ἀλλήλων  
 εἰς τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων διαστήματα παρεμβάλλωμεν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐκ  
 25 τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ φάλαγγι.

Διπλασιασμός ἐστὶν ὅταν τὸ μήκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος  
 κατὰ ἀριθμὸν προσώπων ἢ τόπον διπλασιάσωμεν. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο  
 κατὰ μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὅταν ἀφαιροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ βάθει ἐπιστατῶν  
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M f. 123 30 ἀφαιρουντες ἐκ τοῦ | βάθους τῆς φάλαγγος ὑποτάξωμεν αὐτῇ καθ' ἐν ἡ  
καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς, ἥ ὅταν ἀφαιρουντες ἐκ τοῦ μήκους  
τῆς φάλαγγος προσθῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος αὐτῆς μετὰ τοὺς οὐραγοὺς  
αὐτοὺς τάττοντες, ὅποτε μάλιστα κατεπίγει ὁ πόλεμος. ὑπερκέρασις  
A f. 19<sup>v</sup> ἐστὶν ὅταν | θατέρῳ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγγος θάτερον τῶν  
35 ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πολεμίων ὑπερβαλῶμεθα. ὑπερ-  
φαλάγγωσις ἐστὶν ὅταν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγγος  
ἐκάτερον τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν ἐναντίων  
ὑπερβαλῶμεθα.

Πλινθίον ἐστὶν ὅταν κατὰ διαφόρους ἐπιφανείας ἀναφανέντων  
40 τῶν ἐχθρῶν καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτῶν οἰκείαν ἀντιτάττωμεν φάλαγγα ἐν  
τετραγώνῳ σχήματι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ πλήθους ταῖς ἄλλαις ἔχου-  
σαν. τὸ δὲ πλαίσιον ὀρίζονται οἱ παλαιοὶ οὕτως· πλαίσιον ἐστὶν ἐὰν  
πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐπιφανείας πᾶς ὀπλίτης παρατάσσηται ἐν ἑτερο-  
μήκει σχήματι. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἡ κατὰ μονοφαλαγγίαν ἢ κατὰ δι-  
45 φαλαγγίαν ὡσαύτως καὶ τριφαλαγγίαν καὶ τετραφαλαγγίαν· ὁπόσαις  
γὰρ ἂν τις τετραγώνους φάλαγξιν ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθίου χρήσασθαι βου-  
ληθείη πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας, τοσαύταις καὶ ἑτερομήκεσιν  
ἐπὶ τοῦ πλαισίου εἰκότως ἂν χρήσαιτο.

Φάλαγξ ἀντίστομος ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ οὐρὰν τοὺς ἡγε-  
50 μόνους ἔχουσα. ἀμφίστομος φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἡ καθ' ἑκατέραν τῶν πλευ-  
ρῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνους ὁμοίως ἔχουσα. ἑτερόστομος ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ δύο  
συνημμένας πλευρὰς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους.

Διφαλαγγία συνημμένη ἐστὶν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατὰ μέ-  
τωπον ἢ οὐρὰν συναπτόμεναι καθ' ἑτερον τούτων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατ'  
55 ὀλίγον δίστανται. διφαλαγγία διηρημένη ἐστὶν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγ-  
γος κατὰ πλευρὰν καθόλου δίσταται. διφαλαγγία ἔμβολός ἐστὶν ἥτις  
τὰ μὲν ἡγούμενα συνάπτουσα, τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα διαστέλλουσα τοὺς μὲν  
ἡγεμόνας ἐκτὸς ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς ἐντός· ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμ-  
φίστομος λέγεται. διφαλαγγία κοιλέμβολός ἐστὶν ἥτις τοῦναντίον τὰ  
60 μὲν ἡγούμενα διαστέλλουσα, τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα συνάπτουσα τοὺς μὲν  
ἡγεμόνας ἐντός ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς ἐκτὸς· ἀντίστομος δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ  
ὀνομάζεται. | διφαλαγγία ὁμοίστομος ἐστὶν ἥτις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη  
ἐκατέρας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχει.

A f. 20

31: K-R 148, Erck 65.

31: I λα' De: κ' A: om. MP || 2 inc. *cod. Sinait. gr. 1889* sub titulo Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ οἰκονομίας κτλ. || 3 τῆς A: om. MP || 10 καὶ τίς κοιλέμβολος MP: om. A || 11 κυκλοειδῆς A: κυκλοτέρης MP || 15 τοῖς ἐναντίοις A: τοὺς ἐναντίους MP || 23 προτεταγμένων A: προστεταγμένων MP || 24 εἰς MA: εἰ P || 27 διπλασιάζωμεν MA: διπλασιάζωμεν P || 34 θάτερον A: θατέρου MP || 37 ἑκάτερον A: ἐκατέρου MP || 53 συνημμένη ἐστὶν A: ἐστί συνημμένη MP

soldiers. It is carried out according to space when we take some from the files of the phalanx and reposition them in it on one or both of its sides, or when we take some from the width of the phalanx and position them to deepen it, that is, having them form behind the rear guards, especially when the tide of battle so forces us. Envelopment is pushing one of the wings of the front of our phalanx around beyond the corresponding wing of the enemy's phalanx. Double envelopment means extending both wings of the front of our phalanx around beyond both wings of the enemy's phalanx.

The square is used when the enemy appear in several places at once. To oppose each of their units we draw up our own phalanx in a four-sided shape, seeing to it that each has the same number of troops as the others. The ancient authors defined the oblong as a formation with sides of unequal length, in which all the men are drawn up facing in different directions. This may be done in a single phalanx or in a double, triple, or quadruple phalanx. Depending on the way in which the enemy approach, one might plan on using as many four-sided phalanxes in a square formation as he might have cause to use oblongs with sides of different length.

A two-faced phalanx is one which has its file leaders both in front and in the rear. A phalanx is amphistomos when it has its file leaders in like fashion on both flanks. It is heterostomos when it has the file leaders drawn up along two unified flanks.

We have a unified double phalanx when one phalanx is united with another, joining either in front or rear, and having the men stand a little apart from one another. A divided double phalanx is one that stands fully separated from another phalanx along its flank. The wedge-shaped double phalanx is one that brings its forward elements closer together, spreading the following ones further apart, with its leaders on the outside and the rear guards on the inside; it is also termed amphistomos. The hollow wedge-shaped double phalanx does the opposite by spreading out its leading elements and bringing the following ones closer together, and its leaders are inside with the rear guards to the outside, and it is also named antistomos. The double phalanx with like front is one which has the leaders on the same side of both phalanxes.



31: Cf. Aelianum, 24, 30, 37–38; Asclepiodotum, 10; Arrianum, 43–45.

(λβ'.)

M f. 123<sup>v</sup>

Χρητέον δὲ τῇ μὲν ὀρθῇ φάλαγγι ἐν ὁδοιπορίαις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ· οὐ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν οἱ ὀπίσθεν διὰ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος δύνανται. τῇ δὲ πλαγίᾳ ὅταν τοὺς ἐναντίους ὁρῶμεν  
5 ὑπερκερᾶν ἢ ὑπερφαλαγγίζειν καθ' ἡμῶν διανοοιμένους, ἢ ὅταν ἡμεῖς τοῦτο πράττειν κατ' ἐκείνων διανοώμεθα. τῇ δὲ λοξῇ ὅταν ἦτοι ἀραιῶσαι τὴν πύκνωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐθέλωμεν ἢ λῦσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν ἐπειγώμεθα ἢ καταπολεμήσαι καθ' ἐνὸς τούτων φερομένους ἢ τοῦ ὑποκρατηθέντος παρ' ἡμῶν κέρως ἢ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ προλαβόν-  
10 τος εἰς πόλεμον. εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον χρήσασθαι καθ' ἡμῶν τῇ λοξῇ φάλαγγι διανοεῖται τὸ πολέμιον, δέον μὴ συγκεχυμένως ἐπελθεῖν κατὰ τοῦ ὑποσταλέντος κέρως, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας προαφορίσαντας ἢ τινας ἄλλους τῶν ἀρίστων εἰς πόλεμον παραστήσαι τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ ἰδίου κέρως, ἵνα προβαλλόντων ἡμῶν κατὰ τοῦ ὑποσταλέντος κέρως τὸ μὲν  
15 μέτωπον ἐπέλθῃ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἡ δὲ πλευρὰ κατὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διπλεύρου φάλαγγος.

Ἔτι χρῆσόμεθα τῇ μὲν προστάξει ὅταν μὴ ἀθρόον προσβαλεῖν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων διανοώμεθα ἢ ὅταν προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων βουλώμεθα· συμβαίνει γὰρ ἐκ τούτου τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν  
20 φάλαγγα προελθεῖν τεταγμένων τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκάστου ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας τάξεως καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν ἀπομαχομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένους κατὰ τῶν προτεταγμένων μὴ ἂν ῥαδίως ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον στήσεσθαι τόπον, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπομάχονται καὶ οἱ τούτοις ἐπόμενοι. γίνεται δὲ πρό-  
25 σταξις οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα ἰλῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ὅταν ἐφ' ἵππων καθ' ἡμῶν ἤκωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥς ἂν σφενδόνας αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν καταθορυβήσαντες δειλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγάγωσιν. χρή δὲ τοῦτο | ποιεῖν μέλλοντας κενούς τινας τόπους μεταξὺ τῶν συνταγμάτων καταλιμπάνειν ἐφ' οὓς οἱ ψилоὶ καταφεύ-  
30 γοντες κατὰ παραγωγὴν ταῖς φάλαγξι συμμαχήσουσιν.

f. 20<sup>v</sup>

f. 124 35

Τῇ δὲ ἐντάξει ὅταν ἀπέναντι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἱππέας ὁρῶμεν, οὐ γὰρ φυλάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀπὸ τῶν βαλλόντων δυνήσονται· ἢ ὅταν βαθύναι τὴν φάλαγγα θέλωμεν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιτάξει ὅταν ἀβαθοὺς οὐσῆς τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ ψилоὶ συμμαχεῖν δύνανται τοῖς  
κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἀγωνιζομένοις. | τῇ δὲ ὑποτάξει ὅταν οἱ πολέμιοι παρ' ἐκάτερα τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἱππέας τάττωσιν, καθ' ὧν οἱ ψилоὶ ταῖς

## 32.

The phalanx in column ought to be used on the march but not in battle. Because the phalanx is so deep, the men in the rear cannot support the men fighting up front. The broad formation is used when we observe that the enemy intend to envelop one or both of our flanks, or when we are thinking of doing the same to them. The oblique phalanx is used when we want the enemy to break up their close formation, or to force them to fall into disorder, or to overwhelm them as they are moving toward either the wing we are holding back or the flank of the wing advancing into action. If, on the contrary, the enemy intend to employ the oblique phalanx against us, we should not carelessly charge in against the wing they are keeping back. We should, rather, choose out leaders or some other of our best soldiers to get the flank of our own wing ready for action, so that when we advance against their withdrawn wing our front may attack the enemy's front and our flank face their flank, in keeping with the shape of the phalanx with two flanks.

We will make use of the prostaxis when we do not plan on attacking the enemy in full force or when we want to draw out the enemy leaders. The result of this maneuver is that our own phalanx will advance, each file leader in position at the head of his own file, and consequently be able to fight more effectively, whereas the leaders of the enemy will be moving against our more advanced troops, and they will not easily be able to turn about and take a stand in their normal position, in which they and the men behind them could fight more effectively. The prostaxis may be formed not only by the files from both sides, but also by using light-armed troops when the enemy come against us with cavalry. Slingers, for example, can cause great confusion among them and their horses and break down their morale. When we plan on doing this we ought to leave several empty places between the units to which the light-armed troops can pull back to support the phalanxes fighting on the main line.

We use the entaxis formation when we notice that we are opposed by hostile cavalry, for they will not be able to use their shields to protect both themselves and their horses against missiles. It can also be used to increase the depth of the phalanx. Epitaxis is appropriate when the phalanx has no depth and the light troops can support the men fighting along the front; hypotaxis, when the enemy draw up their cavalry to both flanks of the infantry. Against them light troops can use slings to

σφενδόναις χρώμενοι τοὺς ἵππους ἀναταράξουσιν καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσουσιν. τῇ δὲ παρεμβολῇ ὅταν ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν πρόσταξιν γενέσθαι διανοώμεθα. πρὸς τοῦτοις χρησόμεθα τῷ μὲν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν  
 40 διπλασιασμῷ ὅταν πυκνῶσαι τὴν φάλαγγα βουληθῶμεν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ τόπον ὅταν ἐπιμηκεστέρα ἢ βαθυτέρα ταύτην γενέσθαι θελήσωμεν.

Ἐὰν ὑπερβάλλωμεν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων, ἄλλῃ δὲ τρόπῳ τούτων οὐκ ἐλαττούμεθα συμβαλλομένων εἰς πόλεμον, κατὰ τοσοῦτον τῇ ὑπερκεράσει χρησόμεθα καθ' ὅσον τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων  
 45 διενηνόχαμεν. εἰ δέ τι καὶ τούτου πλεονεκτῆμεθα, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ὑπερφαλαγγίᾳ χρήσασθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον τῇ ὑπερκεράσει ἢ τῇ ὑπερφαλαγγώσει χρήσασθαι διανοεῖται καθ' ἡμῶν τὸ πολέμιον, εἰ μὲν τοσοῦτον καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστι στράτευμα ὁπόσον ἂν τῶν ἐναντίων γινώσκεται, δέον παρατείνειν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥστε κατ' οὐδέτερον  
 50 κέρας ἐκπίπτειν ἡμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰ δ' ἐπ' ἐλαττον ἐκείνων ἢ τὸ ἡμέτερον στράτευμα, μὴ λεπτύνειν τὴν φάλαγγα ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν πεζοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ὑπερκερᾶν μέλλοντες, πεζοὺς κατ' αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐφεστηκόσιν τῆς φάλαγγος, εἰ δὲ ἵππεῖς, τριβόλοις τούτους διατειχίσαντες ἀκοντίοις καὶ βέλεσιν κατ' αὐτῶν χρῆσονται.]

f. 21 55 Τῷ δὲ πλινθίῳ καὶ τῷ πλαισίῳ χρώμεθα ὅταν ἀδυνατοῦντες προὔπαντῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καθ' ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀντινώτους τὰς οἰκείας συναγῶμεν φάλαγγας πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος βοήθειαν προσλαμβάνοντες· φυλάττεται γὰρ ἑτέρα ὑπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας. μετὰ δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης φάλαγγος τάττειν  
 60 τοὺς ψιλοὺς φυλαττομένους μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, αὐτῶν δὲ συμμαχοῦντων ἐκατέρωθεν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον συναγωνιζομένοις. καὶ πον ἀνάγκης κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένης χωρεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ἐντὸς τόπον ὅστις ὑφ' ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς τῶν οὐραγῶν ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἢ ἑτερομήκει σχήματι περιγράφεται, τοὺς δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένους κατακον-  
 65 τίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης φάλαγγος.

Τῇ δὲ ἀντιστόμῳ καὶ ἀμφιστόμῳ καὶ ἑτεροστόμῳ φάλαγγι οὐ μόνον ἐν ὁδοιπορίαις χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγῶνι, ὅταν τετραγώνοις καὶ ἑτερομήκεσιν ἀντιπαραταττώμεθα φάλαγγιν. διαφέρουσι  
 f. 124<sup>v</sup> δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καθ' ἓν μέρος κινοῦνται οἱ τε ἡγεμόνες  
 70 καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀγῶνι καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. τῇ δὲ συνημμένῃ διφαλαγγίᾳ χρώμεθα ἥτοι τῇ ἐμβόλῳ καὶ κοιλεμβόλῳ ἐπειδὴν λύσαι τὴν τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων διανοώμεθα, τῇ δὲ διηρημένῃ διφαλαγγίᾳ χρώμεθα ἢ καθ' ἐκατέραν τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγα προσερχόμενοι ἢ κατὰ μιᾶς καὶ οὕτως τῆς μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον,  
 75 τῆς δὲ κατὰ πλευρᾶς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεμβαινούσης—καὶ τοῦτο ποιούμεν ὅταν περισπάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους βουλώμεθα—κατ' ἐπακολουθήσιν δὲ ὅταν θατέρας προλαμβάνουσης καὶ συμπλεκομένης ἢ ἑτέρα ἐπακολουθῇ τὸ μὲν προθυμίας τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἕνεκα.

make the horses uncontrollable and so break up the phalanx. Parembolē may be used when we want to strengthen a prostaxis formation. In addition to these we can double by number when we want to make the phalanx denser, or in space when we might wish to increase either its width or its depth.

If we are superior to the enemy in numbers and in other respects not inferior, as they move into action we should envelop their flank to the extent dictated by our superiority. But if we are still somewhat stronger than this, there is no reason why we should not make the envelopment double. But the opposite may occur, that is, the enemy is planning to envelop one or both of our flanks. If our own army is as large as the enemy's is reported to be, then we should extend our phalanx along the front so that the enemy may not be able to fall upon either one of our flanks. But if our army is weaker than theirs, we should not stretch out our phalanx. If the army threatening to outflank us is composed of infantry, we should oppose it with infantry posted on the flanks of the phalanx. If it is a cavalry force, we should place caltrops all along and fire at it with javelins and arrows.

We can use the square or oblong formation when we find ourselves unable to go out and engage the enemy in each place they appear. We bring our own phalanxes close together, back to back, for this formation furnishes us a great advantage in that one line is protected by the other. Between the flanks of each phalanx we station the light-armed troops, who are protected by the phalanxes and at the same time can come to the support of either phalanx if it is attacked along its front. In case of an emergency, these light troops can withdraw into the square or rectangular area inside the formation, which is marked out by each flank of the rear guards. An enemy force pressing upon them will be caught in the cross fire from the flanks of each phalanx.

We can use the *antistomos*, *amphistomos*, and *heterostomos* phalanxes when we find ourselves opposed by square and rectangular phalanxes, not only on the march but also in battle. The difference is that on the march the leaders and the troops move in only one direction, whereas in battle they have to move wherever an enemy appears. We can use the unified double phalanx, in either the wedge or hollow wedge shape, when we intend to break up the enemy's formation. We can use the divided double phalanx either in advancing against one of the enemy's phalanxes or in a combined attack against both flank and front. The assault upon the enemy's flank, which we engage in when we want to draw the enemy force apart, can be followed up by having one unit move out and come to grips with the enemy while the other follows to provide both moral support and security for the troops in front.

32: K-R 154, Erck 67.

32: 1 λβ' De: om. MPA || 6 διανοώμεθα A: διανοοῦμεθα MP || 13 τὴν πλευρὰν A: τὰ πλευρὰ MP || 17 προσβαλεῖν MP: προσβάλλειν A || 19 τῶν πολεμίων βουλώμεθα A: βουλώμεθα τῶν πολεμίων MP || 27 αὐτοῖς A: αὐτοῦς MP || 33 βαθύναι MA: καθῆναι P || 39 ἀριθμὸν A: ἀριθμῶ MP || 42 ὑπερβάλλωμεν A: ὑπερβάλλωμεν MP || 43 συμβαλλωμένων K-R: συμβαλωμένω codd. || 52 πεζοῖς K-R: ἱππεῖς codd. || 53 ἱππεῖς K-R: πεζοὶ codd. || τούτους K-R: τούτοις codd. || 55 τῷ<sup>2</sup> A: om. MP || 56 τοῖς πολεμίοις A: τοῦς πολεμίους MP || 66-68 οὐ . . . φάλαγξιν MP: χρώμεθα ὅταν τετραγώνους καὶ ἑτερομήκεσιν ἀντιπαραταττώμεθα φάλαγξιν οὐ μόνον ἐν ὁδοιπορίαις ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγῶνι A || 71 ἐμβόλῃ des. cod. Sinait. gr. 1889 || 75 ποιοῦμεν A: ποιῶμεν MP

λγ'.

Πότε δεῖ πολεμεῖν καὶ πότε οὐ δεῖ.

A f. 21<sup>v</sup> Δεῖ δὲ πρὸς πόλεμον εὐτρεπιζομένους ἀνερεινῶν καὶ καταμαν-  
θάνειν διὰ τε τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τῶν αὐτομόλων | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς  
5 τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις καὶ ταύτας ταῖς ἡμέτεραις παραβάλλοντας  
προτρέπειν ἢ ἀποτρέπειν τὸν πόλεμον. λέγω δὲ παραβάλλειν  
πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἑκατέρου στρατεύματος, ὅσον τε τὸ ἡμέτερον  
καὶ ὅσον τῶν ἐναντίων, δεῦτερον τὴν τῶν προσώπων ἑκατέρου μέρους  
ποιότητα, ὅπως ἔχουσι πρὸς τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην σώματος καὶ  
10 πείραν πολέμων, ἔτι δὲ τὸν καθοπλισμὸν ὁμοίως ἑκατέρου μέρους,  
καὶ ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται προθέσεως ἔχουσιν εἰς τὸν προκείμενον πό-  
λεμον. κἂν μὲν βέλτιον ἔχειν δοκῇ τὰ ἡμέτερα, προτρέπειν τὸν πόλε-  
μον οὐ καταφρονούντας τῶν ἐναντίων· πολλάκις γὰρ μεγάλαι δυνά-  
μεις ὑπ' ἐλαττόνων ἡττήθησαν, καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τέτρασιν  
15 χιλιάσιν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἴκοσι μυριάδας Περσῶν καταπολεμήσαντες.  
εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον βέλτιον ἔχειν δοκεῖ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐδενὸς μὲν  
ἐπομένου μεγάλου κακοῦ ἀποτρέπειν τὸν πόλεμον.

Εἰ δὲ ἀφύλακτα ἢ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ μέγας κίνδυνος τούτοις ἀκο-  
λουθεῖ παραιτουμένων ἡμῶν τὸν προκείμενον πόλεμον, πολεμεῖν  
20 μὲν προτρέπειν, οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν τυχόντα καιρὸν ἢ τό-  
πον, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας μὲν οὔσης ἐν στενοῖς χωρίοις ἀντιπαρατάττεσθαι  
ἐνθα παρ' ἑκάτερα οὐχ ὑφορώμεθα οὐδὲ κατὰ νῶτον ἀπόμοιράν τινα  
τῶν πολεμίων καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπικεισομένην, νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναπανομένοις  
αὐτοῖς καὶ καθευδουσιν.

25 Εἰ δὲ ἐξισοῦνται τὰ ἑκατέρων ὥστε τὴν νίκην ἀμφίβολον εἶναι,  
M f. 125 μὴ | πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην χωρεῖν πρὶν ἂν ἡμῶν χείρονας κατὰ τι  
γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὅταν ἤδη κεκμηκότας

## 33.

## When to Engage in Battle and When to Avoid It.

In making preparations for battle one has to search out and gather information from spies, deserters, and other sources about the strength of the enemy and, comparing it with our own, decide whether to advance into battle or avoid it. In making such a comparison, we should first look to the numerical strength of each army, how large is ours and how large is the enemy's. Second, we should consider the quality of the troops on each side, their courage, physical strength, and combat experience. We should, finally, examine the armament of the two forces as well as the morale of the men as they approach battle. If our army seems to be in better condition, we should move toward battle, but without underestimating the enemy. For large forces have frequently been defeated by smaller ones. A good example of this is given by the four thousand Athenians at Marathon who defeated two hundred thousand Persians. If, on the contrary, the enemy is in a better condition for combat, we should avoid battle, unless some very serious harm would result.

If our territory is unprotected and great danger would result from our refusal to join in battle, we must choose to fight. We ought not do this carelessly or at any chance time or place. By day we should take our stand in a narrow place, in which we will not be left open on either side or worried about a detachment of the enemy attacking us from the rear. At night, though, attack them when they are resting and sleeping.

If conditions are equal on both sides and the victory could go either way, we should not advance into battle before the enemy have become inferior to us in some respect. This can be brought about if we fall upon them when they may be weary

αὐτοὺς καταλάβωμεν ἢ μακρὰν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀνύσαντας ἢ κατὰ πε-  
 τρῶν καὶ λόφων περιπατήσαντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἀσυντάκτους αὐτοὺς  
 30 καταλάβωμεν ἢ κατασκηνοῦντας ἢ τὰς σκηναὺς καταλύοντας, καὶ  
 προσέτι ὅταν δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς διὰ τινων στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς κατακρά-  
 ξαντες καὶ καταθορυβήσαντες ἔωθεν κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν πόλεμον συγκρο-  
 τήσομεν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν κατὰ φάλαγγας διαιρεθέντων τῶν πολε-  
 μίων σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἢ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας κατὰ μιᾶς τούτων  
 35 προσβάλωμεν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει καὶ Βελισάριος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀντισχεῖν  
 διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ ἠδύνατο, πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων παρου-  
 σίας ἐδῆον τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα ἵνα διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς χρείας διαιρεθεί-  
 σας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τῶν ἐναντίων τὰς φάλαγγας ἄλλων ἄλλοθεν διερ-  
 χομένων καθ' ἐκάστης τούτων καταγωνίσηται. ταῦτά ἐστιν δι' ὧν  
 40 μεγάλα πολλάκις στρατεύματα ὑπὸ ἐλαχίστων ἠττήθησαν, μὴ ὅτι γε  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἴσων τε καὶ ὁμοίων.

Σοφὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν ἥτταν εὐλαβουμένους ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἡλίου τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις συμπλέκεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν καταπτῆσσειν τοὺς  
 ἐναντίους ἀλλὰ τούναντίον φαίνεσθαι διὰ πολλήν τοῦ πολέμου προ-  
 45 θυμίαν καταφρονοῦντας τοῦ καιροῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ μὴ σφόδρα πα-  
 θεῖν ἔνεκα. κωλύσει γὰρ εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν διώξιν τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ σκότος  
 ἐπιφερόμενος.

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33: K-R 160, Erck 70.

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33: 1 λγ' M: κα' A: om. P || 2 πότε inc. SB || 3 δὲ MPA: om. SB || 5 ταύτας MPA: ταύταις SB ||  
 12 κἂν MPAS: καὶ B || μὲν MPA: om. SB || 13 καταφρονοῦντας MPA: καταφρονοῦντες SB || 15 ἐν  
 MPAS: ἐκ B || 16 ἔχειν MPAS: ἔχει B || μὲν MP: om. ASB || 20 οὐδὲ MPA: om. SB || 21 ἐν MP: om.  
 ASB || 23 ἐπικεισομένην MPAS: ἀποκεισομένην B || 25 ἐξισοῦνται ASB: ἐξισοῦνται MP || 26  
 χείρονας MPA: χείρονος SB || 33 διαιρεθέντων des. A || 35 προσβάλωμεν MP: προσβάλλομεν SB  
 || δ' ἐποίει SB: δὲ ποιεῖ MP || 37 ἐδῆον MPS: ἐδήουν B || 38 φάλαγγας MPB: φάλαγγος S || 42  
 εὐλαβουμένους SB: εὐλαβούμενος MP || 45 μὴ SB: om. MP

(λδ'.)

Πῶς δεῖ πολεμεῖν μέλλοντας συντάττειν τὰς φάλαγγας.

Παρατάττονται τοῖνυν οἱ πολέμιοι ποτὲ μὲν μιᾷ φάλαγγι, ποτὲ  
 δὲ δυσὶν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείοσιν χρώμενοι. Χρὴ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 5 ἀντιπαρατάττεσθαι αὐτοῖς μέλλοντας ἢ μιᾷ πάντως ἢ δυσὶν ἢ καὶ  
 πλείοσιν φάλαγγι κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι. ἐὰν οὖν μονοφαλαγγία  
 καθ' ἡμῶν κέχρηται οἱ πολέμιοι, εἰ μὲν ἐξισούμεθα αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀρι-

from just having finished a long march or one through rocky and hilly country. We can also fall upon them when they are in disorder, for example, setting up their tents or taking them down. Another way is having some of our soldiers shouting and making noise all night long and then charge in upon them at dawn. The best time is when the enemy have broken up their units owing to lack of supplies or some other reason. Then we can attack those detachments one at a time. This is what Belisarius used to do. When the enemy force was so large that he was unable to face up to it, he would destroy the provisions in the area before they appeared. Need for supplies would force the enemy to separate their units from one another and march along in several different groups, and then he would defeat each unit by itself. By these methods large armies have often been defeated by much smaller ones, not to mention by forces equally or nearly as strong.

If we are facing the risk of defeat, it is wise not to join battle with the enemy until it is getting toward sunset. This will give the impression that we are not at all afraid to fight the enemy, but, on the contrary, are very eager for battle regardless of the time. The important point, though, is that we do not suffer serious harm, for, I know well, the gathering darkness will prevent pursuit at night.

### [34.]

#### Formation of the Phalanx in Preparation for Battle.

The enemy often line up their troops in one phalanx but sometimes in two or even more. Consequently, when we get ready to line up our men to oppose them we must also employ one, two, or more divisions. If, then, the enemy oppose us with a single phalanx, and if we estimate that the numbers are equal, we too should form in



θμῶ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν, χρή καὶ ἡμᾶς μονοφαλαγγίᾳ κατ' αὐτῶν  
 χρήσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ τῷ μήκει ἢ τῷ βάθει τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν ἐλατ-  
 10 τώμεθα. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων διενηνόχαμεν, οὐ  
 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ μήκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος προσθήσομεν, εἰ μὴ  
 ἄρα διὰ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βάθους οἱ ὀπισθεν συμμαχεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσιν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν· χρή γὰρ βαθείας οὔσης τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὸ μήκος αὐτῆς  
 προστιθέναι διὰ τὰς ὑπερκεράσεις τε καὶ ὑπερφαλαγγώσεις. |

M f. 125<sup>v</sup> 15

Εἰ δὲ καὶ διπλάσιον τὸ πλήθος ἔχομεν ἢ καὶ ἐπέκεινα, οὐδὲν  
 κωλύει καὶ διφαλαγγίᾳ κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι. φευκτέον δὲ τὰς δι'  
 ὄλου κυκλώσεις, ἵνα μὴ τόπον φυγῆς μὴ ἔχοντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυ-  
 ρότεροι ἐαυτῶν καθ' ἡμῶν γένοιντο. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πλείονα μέρη προ-  
 σβάλλειν ἡμῖν μέλλοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ μιᾷ κατ'  
 20 αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι φάλαγγι κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τάτ-  
 τοντες καθ' ἃ φέρονται καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκείνων  
 τὴν ἰδίαν ἀντιτάττοντες φάλαγγα καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ πλινθίου καὶ τοῦ  
 πλαισίου πρότερον ἡμῖν διηγόρευται.

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34: K-R 164, Erck 71.

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34: 1 λδ' De: om. codd. || 2 συντάττειν τὰς φάλαγγας MP: τὰς φάλαγγας συντάττειν SB || 3  
 παρατάττονται MPS: ταράττονται B || 6 φάλαγγι MPS: φάλαξι B || 12 ὀπισθεν SB: ὀπιθεν MP ||  
 17 κυκλώσεις MP: κωλύσεις SB || μὴ<sup>1</sup> K-R: om. codd. || τόπον φυγῆς MP: φυγῆς τόπον SB ||  
 18-20 προσβάλλειν . . . μέρη MP: om. SB

(λε'.)

Πῶς χρή συντάττειν τὰ στρατεύματα καθ' ἓν μέρος ἡμῖν  
 προσβαλλόντων τῶν ἐναντίων.

Χρή δὲ καθ' ἓν μέρος προσβαλλόντων ἡμῖν τῶν ἐναντίων συν-  
 5 τάττειν τὰ στρατεύματα τὸν ὑποκείμενον τρόπον, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ  
 πολλοὶ τῶν παλαιωτέρων ἐχρήσαντο, τὴν μὲν πεζικὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ  
 τὸ μέσον τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος τάττοντες, τὴν δὲ ἵππικὴν παρ'  
 ἐκάτερα τῶν πεζῶν. τινὲς δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐποίησαν. ἄμεινον δὲ παρ'  
 ἐκάτερα τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος τὴν ἵππον τάττειν ἢ ἐν καιρῷ ῥαδίως  
 10 ἔχοιεν πρὸς τε τὴν δίωξιν καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ἐκατέρωθεν τῇ πεζικῇ  
 φάλαγγι συνταττόμενοι, ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντες ὅθεν ἐξήεσαν. ἐν μὲν  
 γὰρ τῷ διώκειν οὐδὲν δυσχερὲς ἐξιέναι τοὺς ἵππεας καὶ ἐκ μέσου  
 ἐκατέρας φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀντιδιωκομένους ἐκείσε αὐτοὺς  
 ἀναχωρεῖν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον. ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλοθεν συνελαννομένων καὶ

a single division to oppose them, so that our phalanx may not be shorter or more shallow than theirs. But if we judge that we are much superior to the enemy in numbers, we should be more inclined to increase the width than the depth of the unit, for if the depth is too great, the men to the rear are unable to support those up front. We should retain the normal depth of the phalanx and extend the width to secure a single or double envelopment.

If we have twice as many troops as the enemy, or even more than that, there is no reason why we should not use a double phalanx against them. We should be careful, however, not to encircle the enemy completely. If they have no avenue of escape, they will outdo themselves in desperation fighting against us. But if it looks as though the enemy are advancing against us from several directions, we in turn must form a single phalanx to oppose them, positioning the leaders to face those directions from which the enemy are coming toward us. We may also oppose a phalanx of our own to each one of theirs, as we explained above in connection with the square and oblong formations.

### [35.]

#### Formation of the Army When the Enemy Attack Us from One Direction Only.

When the enemy attack us from one direction only, we should draw up our army in the following manner, which happens to be the one most commonly used by commanders in the past. We should station the infantry in the center of the entire army with the cavalry on both sides of them. Some commanders have done the opposite. But it is better to have the cavalry form on both sides of the infantry phalanx. Drawn up on either side of the infantry phalanx, they may more easily, when the occasion presents itself, be set for pursuit and for returning to their original position. For the cavalrymen have no difficulty in riding out to pursue the enemy, even if they must do so from in between the infantry units, but if they should be driven back, they will not be able to retire to their former location without danger. Different groups will be riding in from all directions converging upon the same spot.

- 15 πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν συρρεόντων τόπον καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν θορύβων καὶ κοινορτοῦ τὸν ἄερα σκοτίζοντας, πῶς ἂν ἐκεῖ ῥαδίως καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἀποκατασταίεν ἀλλὰ μὴ φθαρεῖεν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συμποδίζόμενοι; τραπέντων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν χρή τοὺς μὲν κουφοτέρους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπικεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα τοὺς
- 20 καταφράκτους ἔχοντας κατόπιν ἀκολουθεῖν τοσοῦτον κινουμένους ὅσον μὴ διαλῦσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστραφέντων κατὰ τῶν ἱππέων καθάπερ εἰς τι τεῖχος αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πλευρὰς τῶν πεζῶν καταφεύγοιεν.

Τὴν δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν τάξιν οἱ καιροὶ διδάσκουσιν. ἄλλοτε γὰρ ἄλ-

M f. 126

- 25 λην τὴν σύνταξιν δέχονται, ποτὲ μὲν κατ' οὐρὰν τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπόμενοι, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν αὐτῇ συνταττόμενοι. ὅταν μὲν οὖν βαθεῖα ἢ φάλαγξ ᾗ, | κατὰ πλευρὰν αὐτῇ οἱ ψилоὶ τάττονται ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νώτου βάλλοντες τοὺς ἰδίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τραυματίζωσιν. ὅταν δὲ πλαγία καὶ πτενὴ, κατ' οὐρὰν διὰ τὸ τὰ βέλη καὶ
- 30 τοὺς λίθους προπίπτοντα τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος φθάνειν τε καὶ τραυματίζειν καὶ καταπλήττειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ ψилоὶ προτρέχοντες λυσιτελεστέραν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποίησαν καθ' ἱππέων ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ σφενδόναίς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοὺς ἵππους ἀναταράττοντες.

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35: K-R 166, Erck 72.

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35: 1 λε' De: om. codd. || 4 προσβαλλόντων SB: προβαλλόντων MP || ἡμῖν MPS: om. B || 9 τὴν MP: τὸν SB || 14 ἀναχωρεῖν SB: χωρεῖν MP || 15 συρρεόντων MPS: γυρρεόντων B || 27 βαθεῖα ἢ φάλαγξ MP: ἢ φάλαγξ βαθεῖα SB || 28 βάλλοντες SB: βαλόντες MP || τραυματίζωσιν MP: τραυματίζουσιν SB || 29 πτενὴ MP: πενή SB || 30 προπίπτοντα MP: προσπίπτοντα SB || φθάνειν SB: φθάνει MP || 31 τραυματίζειν SB: τραυματίζει MP || καταπλήττειν SB: καταπλήττει MP || 34 τοὺς MP: om. SB

⟨λς'.⟩

Πῶς καθ' ἱππέων ἀγωνιούμεθα πεζικῇ φάλαγγι χρώμενοι.

- Παραταττόμεθα τοῖνυν καθ' ἱππέων πεζικῇ φάλαγγι χρώμενοι, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεῦτερον ζυγὸν τεταγμένων συνεχῶς
- 5 κατὰ τῶν ποδῶν τῶν ἵππων τῶν πολεμίων χρωμένων τῷ τόξῳ, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ παντὸς πλήθους εἰς ὕψος βάλλοντος ὥστε κατὰ κάθετον ἐξ ὕψους τὰ βέλη φερόμενα καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς τραυματίσειαν, οὐ δυναμένων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀσπίσι φυλάττεσθαι.

There will be a huge amount of confusion and clouds of dust filling the air. How will they be able to reassemble in a safe and orderly manner without trampling upon one another and destroying themselves? If the enemy are driven back, the light cavalry should move out to pursue them. The infantry, with the heavy cavalry on either side, should follow along behind at a pace steady enough to keep the phalanx from breaking up. Then, in case the enemy turn around against our cavalry, the main line, like a wall, may provide them refuge on its flanks.

Changing situations teach us what formation to adopt for the light troops. For their formation will vary from time to time. At one time they will follow along at the rear of the phalanx, at another time they will be positioned on its flanks. When the phalanx is deep, the light troops should be formed on its flanks. Otherwise, if they were firing from the rear, they would injure more of our own men than the enemy's. When the formation is broad and shallow, they can be placed in the rear because then the arrows and rocks fired by them will hit the ground ahead of the front of the phalanx, wounding and striking down the enemy. On occasion the light-armed troops have rendered more useful support by running out ahead of the heavily armed soldiers and attacking the enemy cavalry, with their slings causing great disturbance among the horses.

### [36.]

#### How to Have an Infantry Phalanx Fight against Cavalry.

In employing an infantry phalanx against cavalry we should draw them up in the following manner. The men stationed in the first and second ranks should keep up continuous fire with the bow, aiming at the feet of the enemy's horses. All the rest of the men should shoot at a higher angle, so that when their arrows drop down from above, they will cause all the more injury, since the horsemen cannot use their shields to protect both themselves and their horses.

- ᾽Ὡς ἂν δὲ πόρρωθεν ὁρῶντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιούσαν τὴν πεζικὴν  
 10 φάλαγγα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεζοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν χρήσαιντο, χρή τινας τῶν  
 ἱππέων προτάξαι τῶν πεζῶν ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους δι' ἱππέων  
 ἡμᾶς βούλεσθαι τὴν προσβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσασθαι, ἥδη δὲ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγιζόντων τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας παρ' ἐκάτερα χωρεῖν τῆς  
 πεζικῆς φάλαγγος κατὰ τὰς πλευρὰς συνταττομένους, τοὺς δὲ εἰ-  
 15 ρημένους τρεῖς ζυγοὺς καταθεμένους ἐπὶ γῆς τὰ δόρατα συνεχῶς κε-  
 χρήσθαι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα τῷ τόξῳ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὶ διαμαρτάνοιεν  
 βάλλοντες διὰ τὸ βάθος τῶν πολεμίων τῆς φάλαγγος. εἴτα τῶν ἱππων  
 τῶν ἐναντίων κατατοξευθέντων καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω κίνησιν ἀνα-  
 βαλλομένων, οἱ πεζοὶ ἐκ γῆς εἰς χεῖρας ἀναλαμβάνοντες τὰ δόρατα  
 20 σπουδαιότερον καὶ θαρραλέωτερον (ἂν) κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων χωροῖεν.

36: K-R 170, Erck 73.

36: 1 λς' De: om. codd. || 4 τῶν . . . τεταγμένων K-R: τοὺς . . . τεταγμένους codd. || 10 πεζοὺς SB: πεζῶν MP || 13-14 τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος SB: τῇ πεζικῇ φάλαγγι MP || 14 συνταττομένους SB: συνταττόμενοι MP || 16-17 αὐτοὶ διαμαρτάνοιεν βάλλοντες conj. Erck: αὐτοὺς διαμαρτάνειν βάλλοντας codd.: διαμαρτάνοι K-R || 17 βάθος MPS: πλήθος B || 19 εἰς MP: om. SB || 20 ἂν K-R: om. codd.

⟨λς'.

Πῶς κατὰ πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων ἀγωνιούμεθα.)

Ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ πλήθος ἡμῖν πολεμίων αἰφνιδίως ἐφίσταται  
 πρὸς ὃ ἀντισχεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα, οὐδ' ὅλως παραιτεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον  
 5 ὑπ' αὐτῶν συγχωρούμεθα. διὸ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν. ἀνάγκη  
 γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφους ἀναβιβάζειν τὸ στράτευμα, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐπι-  
 κειμένων μετὰ τὴν ἄνοδον σφειδόναις αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐκ χειρὸς βαλ-  
 λομένοις λίθοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διακρούεσθαι, νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν. εἰ  
 δὲ καὶ αὐθις καταλάβωσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς προτέροις  
 M f. 126<sup>v</sup> 10 διαπραξόμεθα, | νυκτὸς μὲν ἀναχωροῦντες, ἡμέρας δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 καταλαμβάνοντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους τόπους τῶν παρακειμένων  
 χωρίων ἀναβιβάζοντες τὰ στρατεύματα.

Εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν συγχωροῦσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸν  
 ὑποκείμενον τρόπον τὰς οἰκείας διατυπώσομεν φάλαγγας, δι' οὗ πολ-  
 15 λούς τὴν πολεμίων τῆς συμμαχίας τῶν ἰδίων κωλύσομεν. ποιῶμεν δὲ  
 ὥδε· λαβόντες δύο ἢ καὶ τρεῖς φάλαγγας καθ' ἓν μέρος ἐχούσας τὰ  
 μέτωπα τοσοῦτον αὐτὰς ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων ποιήσομεν ὅπόσον ἂν τὸ

To prevent the enemy, who from a distance would observe the advance of our infantry phalanx, from themselves employing infantry against us, we should post some of our horsemen in front of the infantry, so as to give the enemy the impression that we intend to make our attack with cavalry. Then, as the enemy come close, the horsemen should ride around both sides of the infantry phalanx and take up position by the flanks. The three ranks mentioned above put their spears down on the ground and keep up a continuous fire with the bow, as explained. Because of the depth of the enemy's phalanx, they can hardly miss hitting their targets. When the enemy's horses have been shot at for a while and they begin to slow down their forward progress, then the infantry should pick up their spears from the ground, hold them tightly, and with increased energy and courage they should advance against the enemy.

[37.]

How We Engage a Large Enemy Force in Battle.]

It may happen that the enemy unexpectedly concentrate such a large force against us that we are unable to withstand it, and they allow us no opportunity of avoiding battle. We must, therefore, also discuss this case. The army should take position on high ground, and when the enemy press on and start to climb up, then drive them off mostly with slings and by throwing rocks at them, and at night fall back. If the enemy come up after us again, we should proceed as before, fall back at night, and at day when the enemy come after us, have the army keep its position on the higher ground in the surrounding area.

But if the enemy do not permit us to do this, we should organize our own units in the following manner, which should prevent large numbers of the enemy from supporting their own troops. This is how we proceed. We take two or even three phalanxes, all facing in the same direction, and we place them at a distance from

ἐκάστης μῆκος νομίζεται. εἶτα παρεμβάλλομεν εἰς τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ  
 20 τόπους ἑκατέρας φάλαγγος ζυγούς δύο ἢ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ κατ' εὐθείαν  
 στήσονται τῶν ἐμπροσθίων ζυγῶν ὡς ἂν μία τις συνεχῆς τοῦ παντός  
 πλήθους ἢ φάλαγξ εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκοίη. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο μά-  
 λιστα ὅταν τὰ μὲν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ ὑψηλοτέρων, τὰ δ'  
 25 ὀπισθεν ἐπὶ ταπεινοτέρων βέβηκε τόπων. ἤδη δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγ-  
 γιζόντων χρῆ τὰς μὲν φάλαγγας κατ' ὀλίγον προβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ  
 παρεμβεβλημένους ἐκάστης φάλαγγος ζυγούς ἐπέχειν ἑαυτοὺς ἔστ'  
 30 ἂν ἐπ' εὐθείας τῶν τελευταίων ζυγῶν γένωνται. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον  
 διατυπυμένον τοῦ πλήθους οἱ μὲν ἀπέναντι ἐκάστης φάλαγγος τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων φερόμενοι καθ' ἐκάστης αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσονται, οἱ δὲ ἀπέ-  
 ναντι τῶν μεταξὺ ἐκάστης φάλαγγος φερόμενοι τόπων οὐκ ἂν πολε-  
 30 μοῖεν ἢ χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς μεταξὺ τόπους πολλῶν τραυμάτων πείραν  
 λάβωσι μικροῦ καὶ πάντοθεν τοῖς ὅπλοις βαλλόμενοι.

Μέμψαιτο δ' ἂν τις ἴσως ἡμᾶς τοὺς μεταξὺ ἐκάστης φάλαγγος  
 βεβλημένους ζυγούς ἐπέχοντας τοῦ πολέμου ἐγγίζοντας. ἔρεϊ γάρ· εὖ  
 οἶδ' ὅτι ὡς ἀφορμὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις δειλίας γενήσεται τῶν μὲν ἄλλων  
 35 προχωρούντων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτῶν δὲ οὐ συνακολουθούντων.  
 διὸ δεῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν μέλλοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις προλέγειν τὸ μέλλον ὑπ'  
 αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι ὥστε μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὕστερον ἐκ τούτου παθεῖν.  
 ζητητέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τί δὴ ποτε μικροῦ καὶ εἰς ὅπλα ἡκόντων τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἐπέχειν ἔφαμεν τοὺς εἰρημένους ζυγούς ἀλλὰ μὴ πόρρωθεν  
 40 εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευάσασθαι. ἢ δῆλον ὡς ἂν μὴ πόρρωθεν ὀρῶντες οἱ  
 πολέμιοι γυμνοὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ τόπους ἐκάστης φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 διαιρεθῶσιν οἱ μὲν καθ' ἐκάστης φάλαγγος προσερχόμενοι, οἱ δὲ  
 ἐξῶθεν κατὰ πλευρᾶς ἢ νώτου γενόμενοι.

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37: K-R 172, Erck 74.

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37: 1 λξ' De: om. codd. || 2 πῶς . . . ἀγωνιούμεθα K-R: om. codd. || 4-5 οὐδ' . . . συγ-  
 χωρούμεθα MPS: om. B || 4 ὅλως MP: ἄλλως S || 9 καὶ MP: om. SB || τοῖς προτέροις MP: τῶν  
 προτέρων SB || 13 μηδὲ MP: μὴ SB || συγχωροῦσιν ἡμῖν SB: συγχωρώσιν ἡμᾶς MP || 16 καὶ SB:  
 om. MP || 17 ὅπόσον MP: ὅπως SB || 18 ἀναμεταξὺ MPS: μεταξύ B || 21 φάλαγξ MPS: φύλαξ B ||  
 δοκοίη MP: δοκεῖ SB || 23 ὀπισθεν SB: ὀπιθεν MP || 24 μὲν MP: om. SB || 37 αὐτοὺς K-R: αὐτοῖς  
 codd. || 40 παρασκευάσασθαι SB: παρασκευᾶσθαι MP

each other which is equal to the length of their front. In the spaces between each phalanx we insert two or three ranks, who should be in a straight line with the front ranks, so that all the men may appear to the enemy as one continuous phalanx. It is best to do this when the front ranks of our phalanx are on higher ground and the rear ranks on lower. When the enemy approach more closely, our formation should move forward a short distance, just enough so that the ranks posted in the intervals between each phalanx will find themselves on a line with its rear ranks. With our troops organized in this fashion, the enemy coming up opposite our phalanxes will become engaged with each of them. But those opposite the intervals between each phalanx will be unable to do any fighting, or else, advancing in upon the intervening spaces, they will be caught in a cross fire at close range and suffer severely.

Someone may perhaps criticize us for holding back the ranks posted in the intervals between each phalanx when the fighting is about to begin. He will say: "I am sure that it will make the other troops apprehensive if, while they are moving forward against the enemy, they see that those others are not following along with them." We must, therefore, if we plan on doing this, so inform our own men ahead of time, so they will not later on suffer harm because of this. One could also question our reasons for saying that the ranks mentioned above should not move back until just a little before the enemy make contact. Why could not these preparations be made while they are still a good distance away? It should be obvious that if the enemy, while still far off, knew that there were open spaces between each phalanx, they would divide their forces, sending some to attack each phalanx, and others would go around against the flanks or the rear.



⟨λη'⟩

Πῶς μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν οἰκείων φυλάξομεν ἢ καὶ  
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμεθα.]

M f. 127

- Δεῖ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγγίζοντος ἀφορίζειν ἄνδρας ἱππότας ἀν-  
5 δρεῖους, ἐμπείρους πολέμων, καὶ τούτους τάττειν κατόπιν τῆς φάλαγ-  
γος ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων δύο ἢ καὶ τριῶν, εἴτε ὑπὸ λόφων εἴτε ὑπὸ δένδρων  
σκιαζομένους, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ κρίτην ποταμοῦ ξηρὰν ἢ ὑγρὰν γενο-  
μένους, ὥστε πρὸ τῆς ἐντελοῦς διώξεως μὴ πόρρωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
καταφαινέσθαι. ἐντετάλθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο ἵν' ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι τοὺς  
10 ἰδίους τραπέντας καὶ ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ φερομένους, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους  
τούτους διώκοντας καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν φευγόντων διαιρουμένους,  
ἐξιόντας αὐτοὺς ἀνακόψαι τούτων τὴν δίωξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χωρία ἐφ' ἃ  
ὁ πόλεμος γίνεται ἀναπεπταμένα τέ ἐστι καὶ γυμνὰ καὶ πολλὴν τὴν  
περιοχὴν ἔχοντα, ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον ἀφορίζειν, ἀλλὰ  
15 μόνον ἐκ τριῶν ἢ καὶ τεττάρων μιλίων πόρρωθεν ἀναφαίνεσθαι, ὡς  
μῆτε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τούτους  
πόρρωθεν ὀρῶντας μετὰ φειδοῦς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν. δεόν δὲ πρὸς  
τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ τόπου θέσιν διαγενομένους μὴ κρείττονα τὴν ἐπι-  
λογὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ἅτε δὴ πόρρωθεν ἵσταμένους καὶ  
20 πρὸς πόλεμον οὐ συμβάλλοντας καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχ-  
θρῶν οὐ δυναμένους διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῆς διαστάσεως. χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ  
τοὺς μέλλοντας τὰ νῦτα φυλάττειν τοῦ τῆς φυγῆς δοθέντος σημείου  
φέρειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τριβόλους, ὥστε τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων κατὰ  
νώτου διασπείρειν τοὺς τριβόλους εἰς τὴν τῶν διωκόντων ἀνακοπήν.  
25 φείσονται γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο οἱ διώκοντες καὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἀνα-  
κόψουσιν, ἢ κατὰ τριβόλων φερόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς φεύγον-  
τας βλάψουσιν.

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38: K-R 176, Erck 76.

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38: 1 λη' De: om. codd. || 2 τὴν MP: om. SB || 6 δύο, τριῶν MP: β', γ' SB || 7 ποταμοῦ MP: ποταμόν SB || 10 τραπέντας MP: om. SB || 14 post ὥστε lacunam statuerunt K-R || πρὸς SB: om. MP || 15 καὶ S: om. MPB || 16 τούτους MP: τοῦτο SB || 18 διαγενομένους MP: διαγινομένους SB || 21 τό<sup>2</sup> MP: om. SB || 23 ἐπικειμένων MP: ἐπικειμένου SB || 26 φεύγοντας K-R: διώκοντας codd.

## [38.]

How, after a Defeat, We Can Protect Most of Our Own Forces  
and Also Ward Off the Enemy.

When battle is imminent, a number of horsemen, noted for their courage and combat experience, should be selected and stationed about two or three miles behind the phalanx, concealed behind hills or trees or in a wet or dry river bed, so that at a distance they will not be visible to the enemy before the time of an actual pursuit. They should be given orders that when they see their own men being driven back and scattered about, and the enemy forces also split up in pursuing each of the fugitives, then they should ride out and cut off their pursuit. If the area in which the battle is joined is open and unobstructed for a long distance, then, in such a case, these troops should be ordered not to get into the fighting, but simply to show themselves three or four miles away. In this way they will not be caught by the enemy, who, in turn, on seeing them off in the distance, will tend to slow down in their pursuit. Depending on the lay of the land, care must be had in not making this detachment of soldiers too strong, inasmuch as they are to be stationed so far away and they will not take part in the battle, nor can the enemy catch up with them because of the great distance. When the signal for retreat has been given, it helps to have the men who are to guard the rear carry caltrops with them. As the enemy press on the rear, they can scatter the caltrops to cut off the pursuers. I am certain that the pursuers will be more cautious and check their pursuit, for if they ride among the caltrops they will cause more harm to themselves than to the men they are chasing.

## (λθ'.)

## Περὶ νυκτοπολέμου

Τὸν ἐκ νυκτὶ πόλεμον δοκοῦσι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπλοῦν τε εἶναι  
 πρᾶγμα καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦς μελέτης καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιον. ἔστι δὲ οὐ  
 5 τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' οἶον καὶ πολλῆς οἰκονομίας δεόμενον. δεῖ δὲ νυκτομα-  
 χεῖν μέλλοντας πρῶτον μὲν εὑρεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ λέγουσι προ-  
 θύμως ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν μάχην, δοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς ὄρκους καὶ  
 λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν, ἡμῶν μὲν ὁμνούντων ὡς τεύξονται αὐτοὶ τῶν  
 ἀξίων γερῶν πληροῦντες τὰ κελευόμενα, αὐτῶν δὲ ὁμολογούντων  
 10 θάνατον εἰ παραιτήσαιντο τὸν ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεμον. δοτέον δὲ αὐτοῖς δι'  
 ὄρκων καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἴ τις αὐτῶν πολεμῶν ἀποθάνοι, οἱ κληρονόμοι  
 αὐτῶν λήψονται τὰ τούτων ἄξια γέρα.

127<sup>ν</sup> Δεύτερον ἐπιζητεῖν | τοὺς εἰδότας τὴν νυκτερινὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἀσφάλειαν· ἔτι δὲ τὴν θέσιν τῶν τε πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτῶν ὅπου  
 15 τούτων ἑκάτερον πλήθος τάττεται, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ἐκείνων ἀναμανθά-  
 νειν καὶ προσέτι τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ στρατοπεδεύονται καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν καθ'  
 ἣν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφισόμεθα, ὡς μήτε τῆς ὀρθῆς παρατραπήναι ἡμᾶς  
 μηδ' ἄλλως ταύτην κρημνώδη τε εἶναι καὶ δυσδιάβατον.

Τρίτον ἀσέληνον ὑπάρχειν τὴν νύκτα ἵνα μὴ πόρρωθεν ἡμᾶς  
 20 ἐπιόντας θεάσωνται οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ βλέποντες προεντρεπίζονται ἢ  
 καὶ προῦπαντῶσιν ἡμᾶς. εἴτα καθαροῦ μὲν ὄντος τοῦ ἀέρος σημειοῦ-  
 σθαι μακρόθεν ἀπὸ τινος χωρίου τὸν ἀπέναντι ἀστέρα ἢ ἀστέρας,  
 πρὸς οὓς ἀτενίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπ' εὐθείας τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐπιστησόμεθα. κατανέφον δὲ ὄντος τοῦ ἀέρος ὥστε παρ' ἡμῶν μὴ ὀρ-  
 25 ἄσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας, προάγειν ἡμῶν τοὺς τε μάλιστα τὴν ὁδὸν γι-  
 νώσκοντας καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ἐπὶ δοράτων ἀνηρτη-  
 μένα φανία κατέχοντας. τὸ δὲ φανίον ἔστω τετράπλευρον, δέρρεσι  
 τεταμέναις περιειλημμένον. τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν αἱ μὲν τρεῖς μελαίνας  
 ἐχέτωσαν δέρρεις, μία δὲ λευκὸν δι' οὗ τὸ λαμπάδιον διαφαίνεται  
 30 τοῖς κατόπιν βαδίζουσι. δέον δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσπίδας φέρειν μικροῦ  
 καὶ τὸ πᾶν περιεχούσας τοῦ σώματος, ἐνδεδύσθαι δὲ σιδηρίοις τὰ τε  
 ὑπὸ κνήμων καὶ τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν ποδῶν, ἵχνη δὲ σιδηρὰ καθυπο-  
 κείσθω τοῖς πέλμασι διὰ τοὺς τριβόλους ἢ καὶ τοὺς σκόλοπας. ἐπέρ-  
 χεσθαι δὲ τινας κατόπιν αὐτῶν, τοῦτο μὲν προθυμίας τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 35 ἕνεκα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φόβου τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν φεύγοντας.

Πρὸς τούτοις χρή ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατιωτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παρα-  
 στήσαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν ἐναντίων, τοὺς μὲν σάλπιγγας ἐπιφερο-  
 μένους καὶ πυκνότερον κατασαλπίζοντας ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους  
 πολὺ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπέρχεσθαι πλήθος, τοὺς δὲ τῇ γλώσση τῶν ἐναν-  
 40 τίων χρωμένους ἐπιφανεῖν τινας τῶν οἰκείων καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καλεῖν  
 δῆθεν φεύγοντας, ὥστε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀκούοντας τῶν κραζόντων καὶ

## [39.]

## Night Combat.

The average person thinks that fighting at night is a simple matter, not calling for any special concern or precision. But such is not the case. On the contrary, very careful organization is needed. Anyone planning on night operations must first find soldiers who expressly volunteer for this kind of warfare. Both commander and men should make an agreement under oath. We should swear that when the assignment has been completed, they shall receive their proper rewards. The men should profess their readiness to accept death rather than fail to carry out their night mission. We should also promise them under oath that, if any man is killed in action, his heirs shall receive the rewards he deserved.

Second, we should seek men who are familiar with the nocturnal security arrangements of the enemy. They should also know the location of the infantry and cavalry units and where they are stationed. They should be sure to inform us of all this. In addition, they should know the area in which the enemy are encamped, the road along which we should approach them, so that we should not turn aside on the way or find the road itself steep and difficult.

Third, there should be no moon that night. Otherwise the enemy will observe us marching along and, while we are still a good distance off, make preparations to confront us. When the sky is clear, while we are still far off choose as a guiding sign the star or stars just above some point or other. By fixing our gaze upon it, we will come upon the enemy's camp by the most direct route. If the sky is cloudy and we cannot see the stars, we should have men who are very well acquainted with the road and with the enemy's camp go on ahead of us. They should have lanterns suspended from their spears. These lanterns should have four sides covered with hides; on three sides the hides should be black, but the fourth white, through which the small lamp can light the way for those walking behind. These men must carry shields covering almost their whole body. They should have iron armor on their lower legs and feet. They should also have iron soles under their feet as a protection against caltrops or sharp stakes. Another detachment should march along behind them. This will aid the morale of the men up front and also make them fear punishment if they run away.

In addition to these, a detachment of soldiers should approach both sides of the enemy's camp. Some should be provided with trumpets and by sounding them frequently they should give the enemy the impression that a large force is attacking them. Others should call out in the enemy's language, presenting themselves as some of their own who are fugitives and urging the others to join them. When the enemy hear them shouting in their own language and believe that they are their own

πειθομένους οἰκείους αὐτῶν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὁμόγλωσσον, ἀφέντας τὸ  
στρατόπεδον κατόπιν τούτων ἀκολουθεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος ὅθεν  
ἡμῖν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν φέρει καταλιμ-  
45 πάνειν, ἢν' ἔχοιεν οἱ ἐχθροὶ τόπον φυγῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀν-  
M f. 128 δρειοτέρους ἐαυτῶν | καθίστασθαι ἀπορουμένους τὴν ἔξοδον.

39: K-R 178, Erck 76.

39: 1 λθ' De: om. codd. || 4 ἔστι δὲ οὐ MP: οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ SB || 10 δὲ MP: om. SB || 12 ἄξια SB: om. MP || 13 δεύτερον K-R: ἔτι codd. || εἰδότης MPS: εἰδόντας B || 14 ἔτι K-R: δεύτερον codd. || δὲ SB: om. MP || τε MP: om. SB || 15 τάττεται MP: τέταται SB || 19-20 ἡμᾶς ἐπιόντας SB: ἐπιόντας ἡμᾶς MP || 22 χωρίου MP: μακροῦ χωρίου SB || 28 μελαίνας MP: μελανὰ SB || 29 δέρρεις MP: δέρρη SB: δέρη Erck || 32 δὲ MPS: τε B || 33 διὰ SB: διὰ τὸ MP

⟨μ'.⟩

### Περὶ ἐνέδρας.

Τὰς ἐνέδρας ποιοῦσι μὲν καὶ οἱ σήμερον Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἀραβες  
καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐ μὴν, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, συμφερόντως αὐτοῖς.  
5 ὑποκρύψαντες γὰρ ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατεύματος αὐτοὶ εἰς τοῦ-  
μφανὲς ἐξήεσαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκκαλούμενοι. καὶ τίς νοῦν ἔχων  
ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους παντελῶς ὄντας καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν ἤκοντας οὐχ  
ὑποπτεύσει τούτων τὴν ἐνέδραν; διὸ δὴ φειδομένως τούτους διώκουσι  
καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ποιοῦνται τὴν δίωξιν.  
10 Χρὴ οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν ἐμφανιζομένους μὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
φαίνεσθαι παραγεγονέναι ἀλλ' ἀκουσίως καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἐμπίπτου-  
τας, τοὺς δὲ κεκρυμμένους μὴτ' ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς παντελῶς, μὴτ' ἐκ  
τοῦ λίαν πόρρω προκαθῆσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκδεχομένους. οἱ τε γὰρ  
ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς παρεδρεύοντες, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐπω οἱ διώκοντες διη-  
15 ρέθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς συστάδην διώκοντας ἀπαν-  
τήσαιεν, καὶ οἱ πόρρω ἀφεστηκότες οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ βοηθήσαιεν  
τοῖς οἰκείους πρὸ τῆς τούτων συμμαχίας καταληφθεῖσι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς  
ἀποστάσεως.

Πιθανὸν δὲ πρὸς δόξαν φυγῆς καὶ τὸ διωκομένους ἀποβάλλε-  
20 σθαί τινα τῶν ιδίων, οἷον θήκας μαχαιρῶν κασσιτέρῳ ὥσπερ δι-  
ηργυρωμένας καὶ πήρας διπλᾶς πάντοθεν κατησφαλισμένας. χρήσι-  
μον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἔλκειν πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς τοὺς διώκοντας δευ-  
λίαν ὑποκρινομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀνακοπὴν διώξεως. γένοιτο δ'  
ἂν ποτε καὶ νίκης αἴτιον τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διωκόντων οἱ μὲν

people, some of them will leave the camp behind and follow our men. That side from which the enemy have approached and which leads back to their own country should be left free, so they may have an avenue of escape, for without it, desperation may force them to take their stand all the more bravely.

[40.]

Ambushes.

The present-day Romans, Arabs, and many other peoples make use of ambushes, although, in my opinion, not to great advantage.<sup>1</sup> They usually conceal some detachment, while the rest of the army moves out in the open to lead the enemy on. Is there a person with any intelligence who, on seeing a few men boldly advancing against a large number, will not suspect an ambush? For this reason, they will be cautious in pursuing them and will not press the pursuit far.

For these reasons, therefore, the detachments that are out in the open should give the impression that they have not come out there intentionally but unwillingly and happen to be there just by chance. Those in concealment to await the enemy should locate themselves neither too close nor too far away. If the troops in ambush are too close, they will run into the enemy while they are pursuing in a concentrated force, before they will have separated from one another. If they are stationed too far away, they will not be able to assist their own men, who will be overpowered before support can arrive from such a distance.

To make the flight seem more plausible, the men being pursued should drop some of their own gear, sword scabbards, for example, plated with tin to look like silver, and thick saddlebags securely fastened. This helps not only in drawing on the pursuers, who will believe that our men are in a state of panic, but even in stopping the pursuit altogether. This sort of thing can sometimes result in victory for us.

25 ἀποβάντες τῶν ἵππων τὰ λάφυρα ἔλκωσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθέλκωσιν. καὶ που  
πολλάκις κατ' ἀλλήλων ξίφος ἀναρριπίζουσιν, ὥστε τοὺς φεύγον-  
τας ὀρώντας τὴν τῶν διωκόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν κατ' αὐτῶν  
ἐπιστρέφειν.

30 Ὅπως μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνεδρεύσωμεν εἴρηται. εἰ δὲ τοῦναν-  
τίον τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι χρήσασθαι βουλευθεῖεν καὶ  
τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν ἢ τῶν αὐτομόλων προαπαγγέλλεται, χρῆ  
πάντως ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατεύματος δι' ἑτέρας προαποστέλλοντας  
ἀντενεδρεῦσαι τούτων τὴν ἐνέδραν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν  
ἐχθρῶν ταύτην ἐσομένην γνωσόμεθα, ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ διώκειν ἐπι-  
35 φανέντας αὐτοὺς ἢ συνημμένους ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
συνδιαριεῖσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ καὶ εἰ κατόπιν  
M f. 128<sup>v</sup> τῶν διωκόντων ἑτέρους ἐπαποστέλλομεν εἰς τὴν τῶν προλαβόντων  
βοήθειαν.

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40: K-R 182, Erck 78.

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40: 1 μ' De: om. codd. || 3 τὰς ἐνέδρας MP: om. SB || 4 οὐ μὴν MP: om. SB || 6 τίς MPS: τίνος  
B || 17 καταληφθεῖσι K-R: καταλειφθέντας codd. || 21 καὶ . . . κατησφαλισμένους MP: om. SB ||  
25 ἔλκωσιν SB: ἔλκουσιν MP || ἀνθέλκωσιν SB: ἀνθέλκουσιν MP || 31 προαπαγγέλλεται MP:  
προαπαγγέλλεται SB || 32 δι' ἑτέρας MP: om. SB || 35 συνημμένους MP: συνημμένων SB || 37  
ἐπαποστέλλομεν MP: ἀποστέλλομεν SB

⟨μα'.⟩

Περὶ αὐτομόλων.

Τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑποδέχεσθαι μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, εὐεργετεῖν δὲ  
ἀξίον. δεῖ δὲ πάντως τούτων φυλάττεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τιμῶσι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν  
5 θρησκευόμενα καὶ γάμοις ἡμῖν νομίμοις συμπλέκονται. διὸ δὴ τοὺς  
μὲν ἐνδοξότερους αὐτῶν κατέχειν ἐν πόλεσιν εἴ γε βουλόμεθα, πλήν  
δι' ὑπονοίας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συνέρ-  
χεται τὸ πολέμιον ἀφ' ὧν οὗτοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠϋτομόλησαν. τοὺς δ'  
εὐτελεστέρους αὐτῶν ἀπάγειν τῶν πόλεων, εἰ καὶ μαστιγίαί εἰσιν ἢ  
10 καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰ σώματα, ἅτε δὴ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῖ  
πεπονθότες.

Χρῆ δὲ οὐ μόνον τούτων φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσους εἰς δου-  
λείαν ἡμῖν προφάσει δωρεᾶς πέμπουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πέρ-  
σαι ποτὲ τριακοσίους ἀνδρας ἐν σχήματι δουλείας δωρεὰν στεί-  
15 λαντες δι' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβον.

Some of the pursuers may dismount to gather in the spoils, others will try to grab them for themselves, and, as happens often enough, they may draw swords against one another. When the pursued notice the quarreling among the pursuers, they can turn back against them.

This concludes our discussion of how we should go about preparing an ambush against the enemy. Let us look at the opposite. If the enemy are planning to lay an ambush against us and we receive advance information about it from spies or deserters, then we should by all means immediately send out a detachment of troops by another road to lay a counter ambush against them. But if we do not know that the enemy are planning an ambush before they arrive on the scene, we must either not pursue them when they do arrive or else keep our pursuing force together and not allow it to become split up along with the fugitives. Another wise precaution is to send out another group behind the pursuing force to support it if necessary.

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<sup>1</sup>The Arabs, who are not classed as enemies here, are probably those outside the Roman frontiers in Syria and Palestine who fought sometimes for and sometimes against the Romans.

### [41.]

#### Deserters.

It is important to receive deserters, and it is desirable that they be well treated. But they must always be watched, even if they observe our religious practices and become connected with us by lawful marriages.<sup>1</sup> The more prominent men among them, therefore, should be kept in the cities if we so wish, unless we have reason to be suspicious of them, especially if the enemy, from whom they deserted to join us, should be moving against the city. Men of inferior condition should be kept away from the cities, although they may have been scourged or even mutilated by their own people.

We should be on our guard with such people. We should also be careful with those whom the enemy send to serve us as a form of tribute. There was the time when the Persians sent three hundred men in the guise of slaves as tribute and then used them to capture the city.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This presumably envisions the deserters becoming Christians or possibly, if heretics, becoming orthodox Christians.

<sup>2</sup>The source of this story has not been found.



41: K-R 186, Erck 80.

41: 1 μα' De: om. codd. || 4 πάντως τούτων MP: τούτους πάντως SB || 5 συμπλέκονται MP: συμπλέκεσθαι SB || 6 βουλόμεθα MP: βουλοίμεθα SB || 7 συνέρχεται MP: συνέρχεται SB || 10 αὐτοὶ De: αὐτοὺς codd. || 11 πεπονθότες MP: πεπονθότας SB || 12 τούτων MP: τούτους SB || ὅσους SB: ὅσοι MP

(μβ'.)

Περὶ κατασκόπων.

Ἡ τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπινενόηται χρεία ὥς ἂν δι' αὐτῶν μαν-  
 θάνοιμεν τὰ τῶν ἐναντιῶν ὅσα λυσিতেλεῖ ἡμῖν τῷ εἰδέναι ἢ πρὸς αἵρε-  
 5 σιν ἀγαθοῦ τινος πράγματος ἢ φυγῇ τοῦ λυποῦντος. εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα  
 οἷον εἰ παρασκευάζεται καθ' ἡμῶν τὸ πολέμιον ἢ καθ' ἑτέρων τῶν  
 γειτόνων στρατεύεται, ἢ κατ' αὐτοῦ τινες τῶν γειτόνων τὸνναντίον  
 στρατεύονται. ὅταν οὖν παρασκευαζομένους καθ' ἡμῶν τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους ἀπαγγέλληται χρή πρότερον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τίθεσθαι τὰ οἰκεία  
 10 κατὰ τὰ πρότερον εἰρημένα, οἷον τὰς πόλεις, τὰς χώρας. εἴτα καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς τὰ πρὸς ἀπάντησιν ἐτοιμάζεσθαι, ἐπισκοποῦντας τὰ τε ἄλλα,  
 μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους καθ' οὓς μέλλουσι διαβήσεσθαι, εἴ τις  
 τούτων ἐπιτήδειος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν εἰς ἐνέδρας ἢ φανερόν πόλεμον καὶ  
 λυσিতেλὴς ἡμῖν, ἂν τε διώκωμεν, ἂν τε φεύγωμεν. ὅταν δὲ καθ' ἑτέρων  
 15 στρατενομένους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλληται τῷ μείζονι μέρει,  
 λυσিতেλὲς καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν πολεμίαν λήιζεσθαι, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ κατ'  
 αὐτῶν στρατεύουσιν ἕτεροι. εἰ δὲ ἐμφύλιος ὁ πόλεμος ἢ τῶν γειτόνων,  
 ἡρεμεῖν ἄμεινον· εἰρηνεύουσι γὰρ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ  
 ὁμόφυλοι ἐπιόντων τῶν ἄλλοφύλων.

20 Δεῖ δὲ μέλλοντας ἐξιέναι τοὺς κατασκόπους ἐνὶ τούτων ἕκαστον  
 τῶν οἰκειοτάτων μυσταγωγεῖν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποστολήν, ἄμφω δὲ μετ'  
 ἀλλήλων ἀσφαλῶς συμπεφωνηκέναι ὥς δεῖ πάντως αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν  
 καὶ ὅπου καὶ τίνα τὸν τρόπον. ἔστω δὲ τόπος μὲν ἡ ἀγορὰ καθ' ἣν πολ-  
 λοὶ τῶν τε ἡμετέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων συνέρχονται, τρόπος δὲ τὸ |  
 M f. 129 25 τῆς ἐμπορίας ἐπιτήδευμα. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ μᾶλλον λαθεῖν τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίους δυνήσονται, ὁ μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα προτεινόμενος πωλῶν ἢ ἀν-  
 ταλλάττων αὐτά, ὁ δὲ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιδιδούς καὶ δηλῶν ἡμῖν οἷα  
 καθ' ἡμῶν βουλευνόνται οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐκείνων ἔχει.

Δεῖ δὲ πάντως τοὺς κατασκόπους μὴ ὁμοφύλους εἶναι τῶν ἐναν-  
 30 τίων, μηδ' ἄλλως τι παρ' ἡμῶν πεπονθέναι τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν,  
 ἔχειν τε παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ γυναικάς ἢ παῖδας ἢ γονεῖς ἢ ἀδελφούς, ὧν ὁ

## [42.]

## Spies.

Spies carry out a necessary function in providing us with such information about the enemy as may be useful for us to know either to gain some advantage or avoid injury. Such information, for example, would be any preparations for war against us or expeditions against other neighboring peoples or, on the other side, expeditions by some of them against the enemy. Now, when we receive information that the enemy are making preparations against us, the first thing we should do is to see to the security of our own country, such as the cities and the rural areas, in the manner described earlier. We should then make ready to confront the enemy and obtain further information. In particular, we should reconnoiter those parts of our country through which they would plan on passing, if there should be some places suitable for us to set an ambush or meet in open battle, and what advantage the place would offer us, either in advancing or in retreating. When we learn that the enemy are going on campaign with most of their forces against other peoples, it may be to our advantage to make raids upon their territory, and likewise if other powers are campaigning against them. But if it should be a civil war among neighbors, it is better for us to take no action. People of the same stock will usually make peace and join together when attacked by aliens.

Before leaving on his assignment each spy should speak in secrecy about his mission to one of his closest associates. Both should agree upon arrangements for communicating safely with one another, setting a definite place and manner of meeting. The place could be the public market in which many of our people, as well as foreigners, gather. The manner could be on the pretext of trading. In this way they should be able to escape the notice of the enemy. One offers our goods for sale or barter, and the other gives foreign goods in exchange and informs us of the enemy's plans against us and of the situation in their country.

Spies must never be of the same race as the enemy nor have suffered any serious harm at our hands. The wives, children, parents, brothers, or sisters of the

- πόθος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἂν εἰς ἀεὶ μένειν παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συγχωρήσειεν οὐδ' ἄλλως τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πάντως αὐτοὺς εἶναι φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, τὰ ἔθνη τῶν πολεμίων καθ' οὓς πέμπονται
- 35 καλῶς ἡσκημένους καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον ἡκριβωμένους αὐτῶν, εἴτα ἐμπεύρους τῶν τόπων καθ' οὓς διαβήσονται. χρῆ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς παραγενομένους εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν φεύγειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀναγνωρισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔνεκα. πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων περιτυγχάνοντας τῶν μὲν πονηροτέρων τε καὶ
- 40 φρονιμωτέρων τάχιον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀπεριέργοις καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀπλοῖς συνομιλεῖν τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταλύειν.

42: K-R 188, Erck 80.

42: 1 μβ' De: om. codd. || 3 μανθάνοιμεν MP: μανθάνωμεν SB || 6 εἰ MP: om. SB || 12 μέλλουσι inc. V || τις VSB: τι MP || 13-14 καὶ . . . φεύγωμεν VSB: om. MP || 15 ἀπαγγέλληται K-R: ἀπαγγέλλεται VSB: ἀπαγγέλλη MP || τῷ μερίζοντι μέρει VSB: om. MP || 17 ὁ MP: om. VSB || 23 τὸν MP: om. VSB || 32 αὐτοῖς K-R: αὐτῶν codd. || 33 τοῖς ἰδίοις VSB: τῶν ἰδίων MP || ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι MP: ἐπιβουλεύειν VSB || 34 ἔθνη MP: ἔθνη VSB || 36 καὶ VSB: om. MP || αὐτοὺς VSB: τοὺς MP || 38 τοῦ K-R: τὸ MP: τῷ VSB || πολλοῖς Erck: πολλοὺς MP: πολλὰ VSB || 39 τε MP: om. VSB || 41 ἀπλοῖς MP: ἀπαλοῖς VSB

(μγ'.)

Περὶ πρέσβων.

- Πρέσβεις ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλονται. ἐὰν μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλωνται, χρὴ φιλοτίμως τε καὶ δαψιλῶς τούτους
- 5 ὑποδέχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τιμῶσι πάντες αὐτούς. τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετουμένους αὐτοῖς δι' ἀσφαλείας ἔχειν εἰς τὸ μηδενὶ τι διδάσκειν ἐπερωτωμένους αὐτούς. κἂν μὲν τῶν λίαν ἀφεστηκότων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶεν ὥστε μεταξὺ ἐκείνων τε καὶ ἡμῶν εἶναι τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅποσα καὶ οἷα βουλόμεθα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ πλησιόχωροι
- 10 μὲν ἡμῶν καθεστήκεσαν, ἐνδεῶς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔχουσι δύναμιν. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πολὺ ἡμῶν διενηνόχασιν εἴτε πλήθει στρατοῦ εἴτε ἀνδρείᾳ, χρὴ μῆτε πλοῦτον μῆτε γυναικῶν κάλλη ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοῖς, πλήθει δὲ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὀπλῶν εὐκοσμίαν καὶ τειχῶν ὑψώματα.
- Εἰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλονται, χρὴ τούτους πρώτον
- 15 μὲν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωρίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ἐγκλήματι κατηγορηθέντας ποτὲ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθῆναι. εἶναι δὲ φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, εὖνους τὰ κοινὰ ὥς καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλειν τῶν ἰδίων, καθάπερ Ῥήγου-

spies should reside among us, so that love for family will keep them from remaining permanently with the enemy or from getting involved in any plots against their own people. They must, of course, be men of natural intelligence, well acquainted with the customs of the enemy to whom they are assigned, fluent in their language, and experienced travelers in their country. After arriving in hostile territory, they must not have any contact with prisoners of war, not only because it might arouse suspicion but also to avoid being recognized. In their constant association with the enemy they should steer clear of the baser sort and also of sharper and quick-witted men. They should, rather, associate with people who are good, unsuspicious, and simple in their habits, and they may seek lodging with them.

[43.]

Envoys.

Envoys are sent by us and to us. Those who are sent to us should be received honorably and generously, for everyone holds envoys in esteem. Their attendants, however, should be kept under surveillance to keep them from obtaining any information by asking questions of our people. If the envoys come from a very distant country, and other peoples dwell between them and us, then we may show them anything we like in our country. We can act in like manner even if their country is located next to ours but is much weaker. But if they are greatly superior to us, either in the size of their army or its courage, then we should not draw their attention to our wealth or the beauty of our women, but point out the number of our men, the polish of our weapons, and the height of our walls.

The envoys we send out should be men who have the reputation of being religious, who have never been denounced for any crime or publicly condemned. They should be naturally intelligent and public spirited enough to be willing to risk their own lives, like Regulus, and they should undertake their mission eagerly and not

- λος, καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν προθύμους ἀλλ' οὐ βεβιασμένους, καθάπερ ὁ  
 M f. 129<sup>v</sup> Αἰγύ|πτιος ἰατρός. ὦν ὁ μὲν παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις δέσμιος ὦν καὶ πρὸς  
 20 Ῥωμαίους περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσων ἀπεσταλμένος ὁμνυσιν ἐπα-  
 νελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν εἰρήνην οὐ καταδεχομένων,  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκετο, ἀπαγορεύει μὲν Ῥωμαίους τὴν  
 εἰρήνην ἀσύμφορον αὐτοῖς οὖσαν, πείθει δὲ αὐτοὺς (ἐὰν) ἀνελθεῖν  
 αὐτὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους τοῦ ὅρκου φειδόμενος. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ βα-  
 25 σιλέως τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν Πέρσην κινήσας τὰ Αἰγυπτίων διόλωλεν.

Χρὴ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις παραγενομένους πρὸς οὓς ἀποστέλλονται  
 φαίνεσθαι ἐπιχαρεῖς, μεγαλοψύχους, εὐεργετικούς τὰ εἰς δύναμιν,  
 ἄμφω τὰ τε οἰκεῖα τὰ τε τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιουμένους ἀλλὰ  
 μὴ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐνδιαβάλλοντας.

- 30 Οἰκονομεῖν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπακολουθεῖν  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πράττειν τὰ κελευόμενα, εἰ μὴ τι πρᾶξαι πᾶσι  
 τρόποις παρεκελεύσθησαν. οἷον ἀπεστάλη τις ὡς φίλοις δῶρα τοῖς  
 γείτοσιν ἐπικομιζόμενος, ὁ δὲ τούτους καταλαβὼν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 πράττοντας τὰ μὲν δῶρα σὺν τῷ γράμματι παρακατέσχε, λόγους δὲ  
 35 φιλίας ἀντὶ τῶν δώρων ἐπεκομίσατο. ἐρεῖ γάρ τις εἰκότως ὡς ἐχρῆν  
 μᾶλλον ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ δῶρα καθημεροῦντα τῶν πολεμίων τὸ ἄγριον, ἢ  
 τὰ μὲν τιμιώτερα παρακατασχεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐπιδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 πάντα κρατεῖν, ὡς μήτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πλουτεῖν ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ πολὺ  
 τῆς ἐχθρας ὑποτέμνειν τῶν πολεμίων. δοκιμάζεται δὲ πρέσβυς καὶ  
 40 πρὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὑποτιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ἐρωτώ-  
 μενος ὅπως περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν οἰκονομήσειεν, οὕτως ἢ ἑτέρως αὐτῷ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπισυμβαίνόντων.

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43: K-R 192, Erck 82.

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43: 1 μγ' De: om. codd. || 3 μὲν MP: om. VSB || 6 αὐτοῖς VSB: αὐτοὺς MP || μηδενί τι MP: μὴ  
 δέ τι VSB || 12 αὐτοῖς K-R: αὐτοὺς codd. || 13 εὐκοσμίαν B: εὐκοσμία MPVS || 17 ῥήγουλος VSB:  
 ῥιβούλος MP || 18 προθύμους MPVS: προθύμως B || 19 ὦν MP: om. VSB || 21 αὐτοὺς K-R: πέρσας  
 codd. || 22 ἀπαγορεύει MP: ἀπαγορεύειν VSB || 23 ἀσύμφορον MP: ἀσύμφορον VSB || ἐὰν  
 ἀνελθεῖν Erck: ἐπανελθεῖν codd. || 24 αὐτὸν MPB: om. VS || τοῦ ὅρκου Erck: τὸν ὅρκον codd. || 25  
 διόλωλεν MP: διώλυνεν VSB || 27 φαίνεσθαι MP: φαίνονται VSB || 27 εὐεργετικούς . . . δύναμιν  
 MP: om. VSB || 28 τὰ<sup>2</sup> MP: om. VSB || ἐν MP: om. VSB || 29 ἐνδιαβάλλοντας des. V || 30 οἰκονομεῖν  
 des. SB || 34 παρακατέσχε K-R: παρακατέσχε MP || 35 ἐπεκομίσατο Erck: ἀπεκομίσατο MP || 36  
 καθημεροῦντα K-R: καθημεροῦντας MP || 38 πολὺ K-R: πολὺν MP || 40 ἐρωτώμενος K-R:  
 ἐρωτωμένων MP

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under compulsion, like the famous Egyptian physician. Regulus had been sent in bonds from the Carthaginians to the Romans as an envoy to conclude a peace treaty and had taken an oath to return if the Romans did not accept the peace terms. Coming before the Romans, he dissuaded them from accepting the treaty which he thought disadvantageous. But honoring his oath, he persuaded them to let him return to the Carthaginians.<sup>1</sup> The physician stirred up the Persian to anger against the Egyptian king and brought about the downfall of Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

In the presence of those to whom they are accredited the envoys should appear gracious, truly noble, and generous to the extent of their powers. They should speak with respect of both their own country and that of the enemy and never speak disparagingly of it.

Envoys must be able to arrange things properly, to take advantage of opportunities, but not employ pressure to carry out their assignment, unless it is something they have been ordered to get done at any cost. An ambassador was once sent on a mission bearing gifts to a neighboring state supposed to be friendly. Finding that its government was actually supporting the enemy, he held back the gifts, along with the official letters, and simply delivered expressions of friendship instead of gifts. The objection might be raised that he would have done better to present the gifts to mollify the enemy or, at least, if he were to withhold the more valuable gifts, he should have presented others, but surely not held all back. Without seeming to enrich the enemy, he could have greatly lessened their hostility. An envoy is generally tested before being sent on a mission. A list of topics is presented to him, and he is asked how he would deal with each of them under various assumed circumstances.

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<sup>1</sup>His actions became legendary and were praised by Horace, *Odes*, 3, 5; and cited by Cicero, Livy, and others: see P. V. Rohden, "Atilius," *RE*, 2, 2086–92.

<sup>2</sup>Herodotus, *History*, 3, 1.

Cap. 43: iam ed. e codd. recc. a D. Hoeschl, *Eclogae legationum* (1603); reimpr. I. Bekker et B. Niebuhr, *Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri historiarum quae supersunt* (Bonnae, 1829), 6–8.

⟨μδ'.⟩

Περὶ τοξείας.

Ἐπὶ τῆς τοξείας τρία ταῦτα ζητοῦμεν, τὸ εὐστόχως βάλλειν, τὸ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλειν, τὸ ταχέως βάλλειν. χρήσιμον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον  
 5 ἀντικαθισταμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ διώκουσι. βάλλουσι δὲ ἢ ἐστῶτες κατὰ ἐστῶτων, ἢ κατὰ ἐστῶτων κινούμενοι, ἢ κατὰ κινουμένων ἐστῶτες, ἢ κατὰ κινουμένων κινούμενοι. ἔστι δὲ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον μὲν εἰ κατὰ ἐστῶτων ἐστῶτες βάλλουσιν, ἥ-  
 10 τον δὲ τούτου εἰ κατὰ ἐστῶτων κινούμενοι βάλλοιεν, εἴτα ἢ κατὰ κινουμένων ἐστῶτες ἢ κατὰ κινουμένων κινούμενοι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν κινήσει χρωμένων τῷ τόξῳ ἀσφαλέστερον βάλλουσιν ὅσοι κατ' εὐθείαν ἀπέναντι ἀλλήλων τοξεύουσι. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὅταν  
 M f. 130 ὁ διώκων κατὰ φεύγοντος βάλη ἢ ὁ φεύγων κατὰ τοῦ διώκοντος, ἀμφότεροι ἐφ' ἵππων τοξάζοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εὐχερέστερον  
 15 βάλλουσι τῶν κατὰ δίωξιν καὶ φυγὴν οἱ κατὰ πλευρὰν βάλλοντες. ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ παρερχομένων βάλλουσι τῆς ἐπιτυχίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον διαμαρτάνουσι.

Τῶν δὲ τοξεύοντων οἱ μὲν τρισὶ τοῖς μέσοις δακτύλοις τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκουσιν, οἱ δὲ δυσί, καὶ τούτοις οἱ μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου ἐπικειμένον  
 20 τῷ λιχανῷ, οἱ δὲ τούναντίον, οἱ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκουσι καὶ πέμπουσι τὸ βέλος σφοδρότερον. δεῖ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τρόπων γυμνάζειν ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον, ὥστε πασχόντων τῶν προτέρων δακτύλων τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τάσεως κεχρησθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Κάμπομεν δὲ τὸ τόξον ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ ὠτός, (ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ τρα-  
 25 χήλου,) ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ μαζοῦ τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκοντες. φέρεται δὲ τὸ βέλος ἰσχυρότερον μὲν ὅταν κατὰ ὠτός τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκωμεν, εἴτα ὅταν κατὰ τραχήλου, ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ὅταν κατὰ μαζοῦ αὐτὴν ἔλκωμεν. διὸ καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας φασὶ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκειν, οὐ δυναμένας δι' ἀσθένειαν φύσεως ἐπὶ πλέον κατακάμπτειν τὸ τόξον καὶ  
 30 διὰ τοῦτο καυστηριαζούσας τὸν μαζόν.

Δεῖ δὲ βάλλοντες κατὰ πεζῶν ἢ ἵππέων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου συντεταγμένων μὴ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀλλὰ λοξοῖς χρησθαι τοῖς τοξεύμασιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ ποδῶν τῶν ἵππων βάλλοιεν· ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν ἀπέναντι ἐχθρῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φυλάττεται.  
 35 χρήσιμον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον συμβάλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ διώκουσιν.

## [44.]

## Archery.

In archery we have three goals: to shoot accurately, to shoot powerfully, to shoot rapidly. Archery is effective not only when we are standing in position to oppose the enemy, but also when we are fleeing or pursuing. Archers can stand still and fire at standing targets, while in motion fire at standing targets, while standing fire at moving ones, or, finally, in motion fire at moving targets. The shooting is most accurate when the archer stands still and fires at a standing target, less accurate if he fires at a standing target while in motion, and least accurate if either standing or moving he fires at moving targets.

An archer using the bow while in motion can fire more accurately if he shoots in directly opposite directions. What I mean is when the pursuer shoots at the one fleeing or the one fleeing at the pursuer, both, of course, shooting from horseback. With infantry, though, either in pursuing or retiring, fire from the side is easier. When they shoot at objects moving along the side, they usually miss the target.

Some archers draw the bowstring with the three middle fingers, others with only two. Of those who use two, some will press the thumb upon the index finger, and others just the opposite. The last draws the bowstring back further and fires the arrow with greater force. Each man should practice each one of these methods, so that when the fingers he has been using become tired from the continual tension, he may use the others.<sup>1</sup>

We bend the bow toward the ear, sometimes to the neck, and sometimes we draw the bowstring to the breast. Drawing the bowstring back to the ear makes for the most powerful shot. Drawing to the neck is less powerful, and to the breast weakest of all. It is said that the Amazons used this last method to draw the bowstring, and since they lacked the natural strength to draw the bow back any further, they burned off one breast.<sup>2</sup>

In firing against infantry or cavalry when they are drawn up opposite us, we should not aim straight ahead but off to the side, except when shooting at the horses' feet. For each man in the enemy's line opposite us is covered by his shield. This can be useful not only in a regular battle, but also in retreating and pursuing.

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<sup>1</sup>See Maurice, *Strategikon*, I, 1, 5-9; also A. Bivar, "Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 285.

<sup>2</sup>Diodorus of Sicily, 2, 45, 3.



44: K-R 198, Erck 84.

44: 1 μδ' De: om. codd. || 3 ἐπὶ res. B || βάλλειν MP: βάλλειν καὶ B || 4 τὸ ταχέως βάλλειν MP: om. B || 6 ἐστώτων . . . κατὰ MP: om. B || 16 τὸ MP: om. B || 18 τοξενόντων MP: τοξευτῶν B || 21 τούτων B: om. MP || 21-22 τῶν εἰρημένων τρόπων MP: τῷ εἰρημένῳ τρόπῳ B || 24 ποτέ . . . τραχήλου K-R: om. codd. || 26 μὲν MP: om. B || 30 κανστηριαζούσας MP: κανστηριαζουσιν B || 31 δεῖ B: εἰ MP

30 Diodorus Siculus, 2, 45, 3.

(με'.)

Πῶς δεῖ γυμνάζειν ἑαυτὸν εὐστόχως βάλλειν.

Τὰ σημεῖα καθ' ὧν οἱ γυμναζόμενοι βάλλουσι τοῖς μὲν ἄρτι γυμναζομένοις πλάτος τε καὶ μῆκος ἐχέτωσαν, ὥστε μὴ ἀποτυγχάνον-  
5 τας τοὺς τοξεύοντας ῥαθυμεῖν. εἴτα περιελόντας κατ' ὀλίγον τὸ πλάτος εἰς λεπτόν συστέλλειν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ σημείου ἀποτυγχάνουσι βάλλοντες, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος μετὰ τὴν πρώτην γυμνασίαν διαμαρτήσουσι. τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ μῆκος κατ' ὀλίγον περιελόντας περιφερέσι χρήσασθαι τοῖς σημείοις.

10 Εἴτε κατὰ στερεῶν βάλλουσιν, εἴτε κατὰ κενῶν εἴτ' οὖν κατὰ τρημάτων, ὧν πολλὴ τοῦ μεγέθους διαφορά, νῦν μὲν κατὰ τῶν μειζόνων, εἴτε κατὰ τῶν μέσων, καὶ τελευταῖον κατὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων βάλλοντες.

Μ f. 130<sup>v</sup> 15 Γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ χρή κατὰ κινουμένων φύσει καὶ τέχνῃ, φύσει μὲν κατ' ὀρνέων ἢ ζώων ἀγρίων βάλλοντας, τέχνῃ δὲ | οἷον τῶν διὰ σπαρτίου πόρρωθεν ἐλκομένων σημείων, οἷον σφαιρῶν ἢ τινος τῶν τοιούτων. οὕτω μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑκάστην γυμναζομένοις ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας εὐστόχῳ τῇ τοξεΐᾳ χρήσασθαι.

45: K-R 202, Erck 85.

45: 1 με' De: om. codd. || c. 45 om. SB || 13 βάλλοντες K-R: βάλλοντα MP

## [45.]

## Training for Accuracy of Fire.

The targets at which the troops in training are to fire should be broad and high, as for beginners. If they keep shooting and missing, they may lose heart. Later on the breadth should be reduced gradually until it becomes quite narrow. While the men may miss the target by shooting off to the sides, after the first lesson they should not be off very much as far as the height is concerned. Eventually the height should also be reduced gradually, and round targets should be used.

The targets shot at may be solid or hollow. Another kind has holes of very different sizes cut in it. The men shoot first at the larger holes, then the medium-sized, and finally at the smaller ones.

They should also practice shooting at moving targets, whether natural or artificial. The natural ones they can shoot at would be birds and wild animals. Artificial targets could be, for example, balls or some other objects pulled by cords some distance away. It should be obvious that men trained in these ways will shoot accurately in actual service.

(μς'.)

Πώς δεῖ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλειν.

Τὸ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλειν συμβαίνει ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα ῥαδίως κάμπτεσθαι τὸ τόξον ἢ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ βέλους ἐπὶ πλεόν καμπτομένου  
 5 τοῦ τόξου. ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτο ἢ τῶν γυμναζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως.

Ἔστω τις κανὼν κατὰ κάθετον ἐπὶ τινος βάσεως ἐστηκώς, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τούτου δίσκος ξύλινος κατ' ὀρθὰς γωνίας τῷ κανόνι συνταττόμενος,  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄνω αὐτοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν γεγράφθωσαν εὐθεῖαι διὰ τοῦ  
 10 κέντρον ἡγμένοι, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις ἐξήκοντα.  
 πεπήχθω δὲ κατὰ τὸ κέντρον τοῦ δίσκου περόνη κυλινδροειδῆς σιδηρᾶ,  
 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ περόνῃ βεβηκέτω κύκλος ξύλινος τοῦ δίσκου  
 κατὰ σημεῖον ἀπτόμενος οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ μὲν πάχος δακτύλων τριῶν,  
 τὴν δὲ διάμετρον τοῦ κύκλου σπιθαμῶν δύο. ἔστω δὲ ὁ κύκλος ἐπὶ τῇ  
 15 περόνῃ βεβηκώς ὥς μήτε ἀκίνητον εἶναι μήτε ῥαδίως κινούμενον τῷ  
 διὰ τοξείας κινοῦντι αὐτόν. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν κύκλον ἔστωσάν τινες  
 βάλλοντες ἀντὶ αἰχμῆς κεφαλίδας σιδηρᾶς ἐχούσας. σημεῖα δὲ τῆς  
 σφοδροτέρας καὶ ἀσθενεστέρας τοῦ βέλους κρούσεως αἱ ὑποκείμεναι  
 τῷ κύκλῳ κατὰ τὸν δίσκον γραμμαί· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρα κατὰ  
 20 μίαν εἰ τύχοι γραμμὴν κινήσει τὸν κύκλον, ἢ δὲ σφοδροτέρα κατὰ δύο  
 ἢ καὶ πλείονας.]

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46: K-R 202, Erck 85.

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46: 1 μς' De: om. codd. || 2 πώς MP: περὶ τοῦ πώς SB, qui hic res. || 9 τὴν MP: τὸν SB || 19 ἀσθενεστέρα MP: ἀσθενεστέραν SB || 21 πλείονας K-R: πλείονα codd.: des. MP

111<sup>v</sup>  
 91<sup>v</sup>

(μξ'.

Πώς δεῖ ταχέως βάλλειν.)

Τὸ δὲ ταχέως βάλλειν οὐ μάλλον τέχνη ἢ συνεχῆς γυμνασία  
 ποιεῖ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως· ἀνὴρ τις τῶν ἐπὶ τοξείᾳ βαλλόντων  
 5 πυκνότερον κατὰ τοῦ δοθέντος σημείου συνεχῶς πεμπέτω τὰ βέλη. οἱ

## [46.]

## Training for Power of Fire.

Power of fire may be achieved either by using a bow which is not too easy to draw or a long arrow, which means the bow will have to be pulled farther. The best way of proceeding is by competition among the men in training. It may be done in the following way.

Set up a measuring rod vertically upon some sort of base. Fix a wooden disk at right angles to the rod. On the disk's upper surface draw a number of straight lines through the center, no less than 360. Stick a cylindrical iron pin in the center of the disk, and on this pin fix a circular wooden plate to be fitted over the disk as a target, no less than three fingers thick and the diameter of the circle about half a meter.<sup>1</sup> Let this circle be so attached to the pin that it will be neither too rigid nor too easily moved when shaken by arrows. Have some men fire at this circle, using arrows with blunt iron heads instead of points. The lines inscribed in the circle on the disk indicate the stronger or the weaker impact of the shot. A weaker shot will turn the circle, say, only one degree, the stronger blow two or more degrees.

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<sup>1</sup>Two spithamai.

## [47.]

## Training for Rapidity of Fire.]

Being able to fire rapidly is less a matter of technique than it is of constant practice. It may be done in the following manner. Have one of the men who is very good at rapid shooting with the bow fire a continuous volley of arrows at a given

- δὲ ταύτης τῆς γυμνασίας ἐχόμενοι κατὰ μίαν αὐτῷ εὐθείαν συντεταγμένοι στηκέτωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τόξῳ χρώμενοι ὁμοίως τὰ βέλη κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου πεμπέτωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς βέλεσι γεγράφθωσαν τὰ τῶν πεμπόντων ὀνόματα, ἢ ἴδια τούτων σημεῖα ἐχέτωσαν. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ
- 10 τῶν τοξευόντων καὶ τὸ τέλος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γινέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινος σημείου γνωρίζοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τέλος. τούτων γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους τρόπους τελουμένων καὶ τῶν βελῶν ἐκάστου μετὰ τὴν τοξείαν ἀριθμουμένων, τοῦ μὲν τάχεως βάλλοντος πλείονα ἀνάγκη τὰ βέλη εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ βραδέως ὀλιγότερα, καὶ
- 15 τούτου ἔρις ἔσται τοῖς βάλλουσιν πρὸς τὸ λίαν πυκνότερον.

- Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις μέθοδος γυμνασίας ἰδίως τῶν ἐν κινήσει τοξευόντων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὕτως· λαβὼν τις (τὸ) τόξον καὶ τὰ βέλη τῶν γνωρίμων εἰς τάχος κατ' εὐθείαν κινεῖσθω μὲν, πεμπέτω δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν εἰς μῆκος τὰ βέλη. εἶτα παυσάμενος ἀναλαμβάνεν τὰ
- 20 βέλη, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων τόπους τιθέναι σημεῖα, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν σημεῖα πρῶτα, καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἀπέναντι ἐν διαστάσει εἰ τύχοι ὀργυῶν τριάκοντα ἕτερα σημεῖα ἃ δὴ δευτέρα ὀνομάζω. κατὰ δὴ ταῦτα τὰ δευτέρα σημεῖα οἱ γυμναζόμενοι ἕτερος ἐτέρῳ κατακολουθοῦντες σπουδαίως κατὰ τῶν προτέρων σημείων τὰ βέλη πεμπέ-
- 25 τωσαν μέχρις ὅτου τὸ τελευταῖον σημεῖον καταλάβωσιν. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον σημεῖον οὐκέτι τόξῳ χρήσονται ἔστ' ἂν πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν σημείων γίνωνται.

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47: K-R 204, Erck 86.

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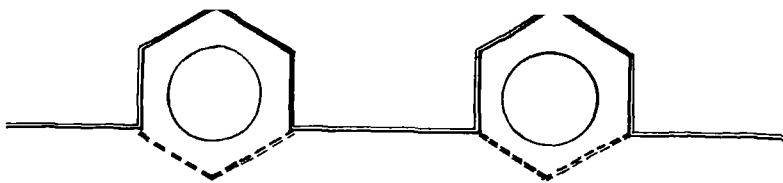
47: 1 μζ' De: om. codd. || 2 πῶς . . . βάλλειν K-R: om. codd. || 3 ἡ K-R: om. codd. || 9 ἐχέ-  
 τωσαν S: om. B || 17 τὸ K-R: om. SB || 18 κινεῖσθω μὲν πεμπέτω δὲ K-R: κινήσωμεν καὶ πεμ-  
 πέτω SB || 19 παυσάμενος K-R: παυσασμένων SB || 25 τελευταῖον K-R: τέταρτον SB || 26 χρή-  
 σονται K-R: χρήσεται SB || 27 γίνωνται K-R: γίνεται SB

signal. The other participants take position on a straight line with him and draw back their bows. They should also shoot their arrows at the same target. Let the arrows be marked with the archers' names or some distinctive device. The shooting begins and ends not when the men feel like it, but they commence firing and cease firing at a definite, prearranged signal. When they have finished shooting in this way, the arrows belonging to each man are counted, and it is obvious that more arrows will be found belonging to the man who shot more rapidly and less to him who shot more slowly. This will instill competition among the men to see who can shoot more rapidly.

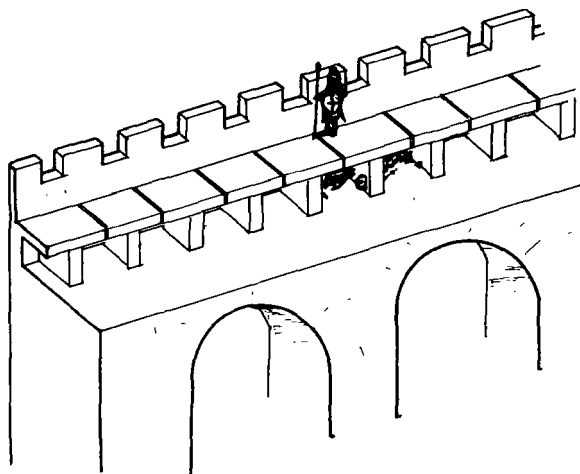
There is another method of training, specifically for shooting while in motion, which is done in the following way. A man who is known for his rapid shooting takes his bow and arrows, moves out in a straight line, and fires arrows off to his side for some time. When he stops, the arrows are picked up and a marker left in place of each. This is the first line of markers. Opposite these at a distance of approximately fifty-six meters<sup>1</sup> place another set of markers, calling it the second line. Along this second line of markers, then, the men in training follow along one after the other, firing arrows at the first line of markers until they reach the final marker. When they pass the last marker, they put down the bow until they get back to where the markers begin.

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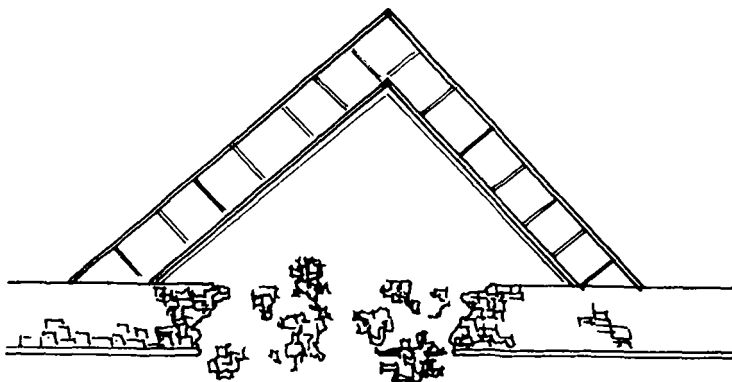
<sup>1</sup>Thirty orguai: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 22–23.



1. Plan of Towers (after Spaulding, p. 3)



2. Section of Wall (after Garlan, *supra*, chap. 12, note 3)



3. Breach in Wall

# SKIRMISHING

## INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the seventh century fanatical Muslim armies swept over what had been the Roman Empire in the East, including most of Asia Minor. With naval support they even besieged the imperial capital, but after failing in their last attempt in 717 it was clear that they would not conquer the whole empire. It was equally clear that the Romans, whom by this period we may call Byzantines, could not inflict a decisive defeat upon the forces of Islam. Military expeditions alternated with periods of peace as the Byzantines slowly recovered most of Asia Minor and organized it into themes, military provinces. For some time the situation stabilized with neither side able to obtain any permanent advantage. The Taurus Mountains formed a rugged border through which Christians and Muslims passed to raid each other's lands.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the tenth century, as the Abbasid power in Baghdad declined, Syria came under the control of a strong semi-Bedouin dynasty founded by Hamdan ibn-Hamdun in the previous century.<sup>2</sup> Two brothers of this family helped reinstate the caliph in Baghdad after an attempted coup. One of them, Hassan, was rewarded with the title Nasir ad-Dawla, Defender of the Dynasty, and the other, 'Ali, who began his rule in northern Syria in 936, received the title Sayf ad-Dawla, Sword of the Dynasty. In Byzantine sources he is usually referred to by some variation of his real name, 'Ali ibn-Hamdun. He entered Aleppo in 944 and consolidated his control over Syria.

Warfare between the Muslims, led by emirs such as 'Ali ibn-Hamdun, and the Byzantine Empire was seasonal. Cultural contacts and commercial relations continued, as is clear from the present treatise. Almost every year, however, and some-

<sup>1</sup>In general see M. Canard, "Byzantium and the Muslim World to the Middle of the Eleventh Century," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 1, *Byzantium and Its Neighbors*, ed. J. M. Hussey (Cambridge, 1966), 696–735. I. Ševčenko comments on life in the border regions and on this treatise in "Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak*. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3/4, 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979–80), 712–47, esp. pp. 730–32; repr. in *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982). G. Schlumberger discusses and paraphrases some of this treatise: *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle: Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1923). See also J. D. Howard-Johnston, *Studies in the Organization of the Byzantine Army in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Dissertation: Oxford, 1971).

<sup>2</sup>See Canard, *Hamdanides*.



times two or three times a year, large raiding parties, small armies in fact, would cross into Byzantine territory in Cilicia and Anatolia. They would devastate the countryside, sack what towns and villages they could, and return home before winter with prisoners, flocks, and booty. The Byzantines would sometimes retaliate, as in 942–43 when they devastated the area around Edessa and carried off the sacred *Mandylion*, a cloth bearing a venerated image of Christ, which was conveyed to Constantinople in 944 with great solemnity.

Invading armies had to traverse deep defiles, passes, and valleys, through the Taurus and other mountain ranges. This treatise pictures it as ideal country for ambushes and surprise attacks. To defend their territory the Byzantines organized the passes and mountainous areas into small border provinces called *kleisourai* under a local chieftain or commander. By the middle of the tenth century these *kleisourai* had been transformed, at least in name, into themes, some of which were entrusted, somewhat reluctantly, it would seem, to Armenians.<sup>3</sup> The sources, in fact, distinguish between the “large, Roman themes” and the “Armenian themes.” The approach of hostile forces was observed by scouts in forward positions and relayed back to the nearest headquarters by beacons and fast riders. Various methods of defense are described in this treatise. The one preferred by our author, which must have been hard on the inhabitants of the region, was to allow the raiders to ravage and pillage Byzantine territory and then, as they were making their way home loaded with captives and plunder, all worn out from the expedition, to ambush them in the mountain passes. If they were hit hard enough, it was hoped, they would not dare even think of invading imperial territory again.

Most of Asia Minor was divided into themes, that is, provinces in which the military and civil authority were combined. The governor was also commander (*strategos*) of the armed forces in the theme. In addition to these provincial forces, there was the regular standing army, the tagmatic army, based around the capital, but which joined with the thematic forces on campaign. The commander of the tagmatic forces was the domestic of the schools, a title originally held by the commander of the imperial guards.<sup>4</sup>

In the decade spanning the middle of the tenth century, 944–55, the Muslims led by Sayf ad-Dawla continued their devastating raids and won some major victories over regular Byzantine armies. While the imperial forces successfully carried out a few important ambushes, generally it was the Muslims who were on the offensive. In 950 Sayf got as far as a week’s march from the Bosphorus, but was caught in

<sup>3</sup>J. Ferluga, “Le Clisure byzantine in Asia Minore,” *Byzantium on the Balkans. Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VII to the XII Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1976), 71–85.

<sup>4</sup>See W. Ensslin, “The Government and Administration of the Byzantine Empire,” *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 2 (1967), 1–54; L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin. Les institutions de l’empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949); H. Ahrweiler, “Recherches sur l’administration de l’empire byzantin aux IX<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 84 (1960), 1–109; repr. in *Etudes administratives*, viii. On the domestic of the schools see R. Guillard, “Le domestique des Scholes,” *REB*, 8 (1950), 5–63; repr. in *Recherches*, I, 426–68.

an ambush on returning to Syria. In 953 he inflicted a severe defeat on the domestic Bardas Phokas at Mar'ach (Germanikeia). Bardas was wounded, and his son Constantine, governor of Seleukia, was taken prisoner. Bardas was again defeated in 954 and 955 before retiring and being replaced as domestic by his son Nikephoros, *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme. For the next few years the tide turned decisively in favor of the Byzantines. Nikephoros, his brother Leo, *strategos* of Cappadocia, and John of Tshemeshgadzak (Tzimiskes), governing the theme of Mesopotamia, won several major victories and devastated sections of northern Syria.<sup>5</sup>

Nikephoros spent the years 960–61 in reconquering Crete, and during his absence Leo commanded the armies in the East. On his return Nikephoros ravaged northern Syria up to Aleppo. In March of 963 he was proclaimed emperor to succeed Romanos II. That same year and in 964 he attacked Muslim lands, capturing Massisa, Adana, and Tarsus. In 966 he devastated the countryside about Aleppo, even besieging Antioch. The following year Sayf ad-Dawla died in Aleppo. In 968 Nikephoros led another destructive expedition through Syria and along its coast. Aleppo and Antioch were taken in 969, but on 10 December Nikephoros was murdered and succeeded by John Tzimiskes.

It is in this context that the treatise on hit-and-run warfare, or skirmishing, was written. Although it has been attributed to Nikephoros Phokas, the preface makes it clear that he was not its author. But he did give orders that such a work be composed, entrusting that task to the author. This man, who speaks in the first person singular, mentions in the preface that he had commanded troops in the West. He also claims to have received much of his training in hit-and-run tactics from Bardas Phokas, which would appear to make him a contemporary of Nikephoros. It is clear that the author was an officer of high rank, perhaps *strategos*, for he gives instructions to the general as though to a colleague. He was very close to, if not a member of, the Phokas family.

While the author praises Bardas Phokas and Nikephoros for their brilliant use of the hit-and-run tactics he writes about, it seems that most of the tactics and victories described in the work are those of Leo Phokas, brother of Nikephoros. In 960, for example, while Nikephoros was off subjugating Crete, Sayf ad-Dawla led a large force into Byzantine territory. To repel this invasion the emperor dispatched Leo, then Domestic of the West, that is, in command of the troops in Europe. After bestowing high praise on him, Leo the Deacon adds: "He was never defeated by an enemy, but always emerged victorious."<sup>6</sup> On the European front he had encountered the Magyars several times but, since his forces were inferior, he had to resort to

<sup>5</sup>Still useful is the account by Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin*. An invasion by the "wicked atheist Hamdan" is mentioned by the magister Symeon, who requests several monastic communities to pray for a Byzantine victory: J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1960), no. 83, p. 146. The Byzantine victories are recalled by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in a message to the soldiers: H. Ahrweiler, "Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *TM*, 2 (1967), 393–404.

<sup>6</sup>Leo the Deacon, 2, 2; p. 18.

dividing his men into three groups, sneaking into the enemy camp, and then attacking violently,<sup>7</sup> tactics which are described in Chapters 8 and 14 of this treatise. On arriving in Asia Minor in 960 he surveyed the situation and, realizing that he was greatly outnumbered, had his troops occupy high ground, guard the roads, and catch the Muslims in an ambush.<sup>8</sup> His manner of doing this is described in Chapters 3 and 25. Two of the three great Byzantine victories sketched in this work were gained by Leo. The work was written by one who was close to Emperor Nikephoros, who was trained by Bardas Phokas, and who had commanded troops in both East and West. While members of the Phokas family are extolled, there is no mention of Leo. It is, then, not impossible that this treatise may have been composed, or at least inspired, by Leo Phokas. During the reign of John Tzimiskes (969–76), who had had Nikephoros murdered, or perhaps during that of Basil II (976–1025), it may not have been prudent to attribute anything to Leo Phokas.

At the very beginning the author admits that his treatise might not be needed, since the Muslims have been beaten back and no longer pose a serious threat. This must refer to the late 960s, after the death of Sayf in February 967 or the capture of Aleppo and Antioch in the fall of 969. In the preface Bardas is referred to as “the blessed Caesar,” *makarites*, that is, in Greek usage, “the late Caesar.” The title had been bestowed on him by his son Nikephoros on ascending the throne in 963. In September 969 a monk foretold that Nikephoros would die within three months. Nikephoros accordingly began to prepare himself. “During these days,” Leo the Deacon reports, “it happened that the Caesar Bardas, the father of the emperor Nikephoros, departed this life, after living more than ninety years growing old in the military ranks (in which he had served) since his youth.”<sup>9</sup> Nikephoros was assassinated on 10 December 969. In the work he is spoken of as the “revered” (*aoidimos*) emperor, a term which had come to be used of deceased rulers. The reference to Bardas and the author’s statement that Nikephoros had entrusted him with the task of describing the method of combat incline one to place the composition of this work, at least of its preface, not very long after the emperor’s death.<sup>10</sup>

In establishing the Greek text only three manuscripts, nearly identical ones at that, need concern us. All the other extant codices have been copied from one of these three, two in Rome and one in the Escorial. They are: *codex Vaticanus graecus 1164* (V); *codex Scorialensis graecus 281* (Y-III-II) (S); *codex Barberianus graecus II 97* (276) (B). They were produced in the same scriptorium in

<sup>7</sup>Leo the Deacon, 2, 2; p. 19.

<sup>8</sup>Leo the Deacon, 4; pp. 21–22.

<sup>9</sup>Leo the Deacon, 5, 5; p. 83. In 968 Liutprand of Cremona had seen Bardas at an imperial banquet and remarked that he looked a hundred and fifty years old: *Liudprandi relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. J. Becker (Hannover, 1915), c. 28, p. 190.

<sup>10</sup>This treatise is discussed briefly by Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 2, 336; Dain, “Stratēgistes,” 369–70; V. Kučma, “Vizantijskie voennye traktaty VI–X vv. kak istočniki po istorii voennogo iskusstva vizantijskij imperii,” *Antičnaja drevnost’ i srednje veka. Učenie zapiski Uralskij gosudarstvennyj Universitet*, 53, ser. istor. 4 (Sverdlovsk, 1966), 31–56, esp. pp. 46–47. A. Kazhdan, “Iz istorii vizantijskij khronografij X veka,” *VizVrem*, 20 (1961), 106–28, esp. pp. 119–20.

Constantinople early in the eleventh century and have been described and studied in detail.<sup>11</sup> It has been shown that S is a copy of V, while B derives from a lost manuscript which stems from the same exemplar as V.<sup>12</sup> Examination of the sections of these three containing the present treatise tends to confirm these conclusions. V and S share about sixty errors, with S adding twelve more of its own, including a few omissions and repetitions. V has ἐπιωκόντων (17, 63), which S copied, then corrected by adding δι above the line; V wrote πον (17, 81), which S copied and likewise corrected by adding τό above the line. B and S have about fifteen common errors, with B having some ten of its own, including three omissions. V and B do not preserve the same sections of the text, which makes a comparison impossible.

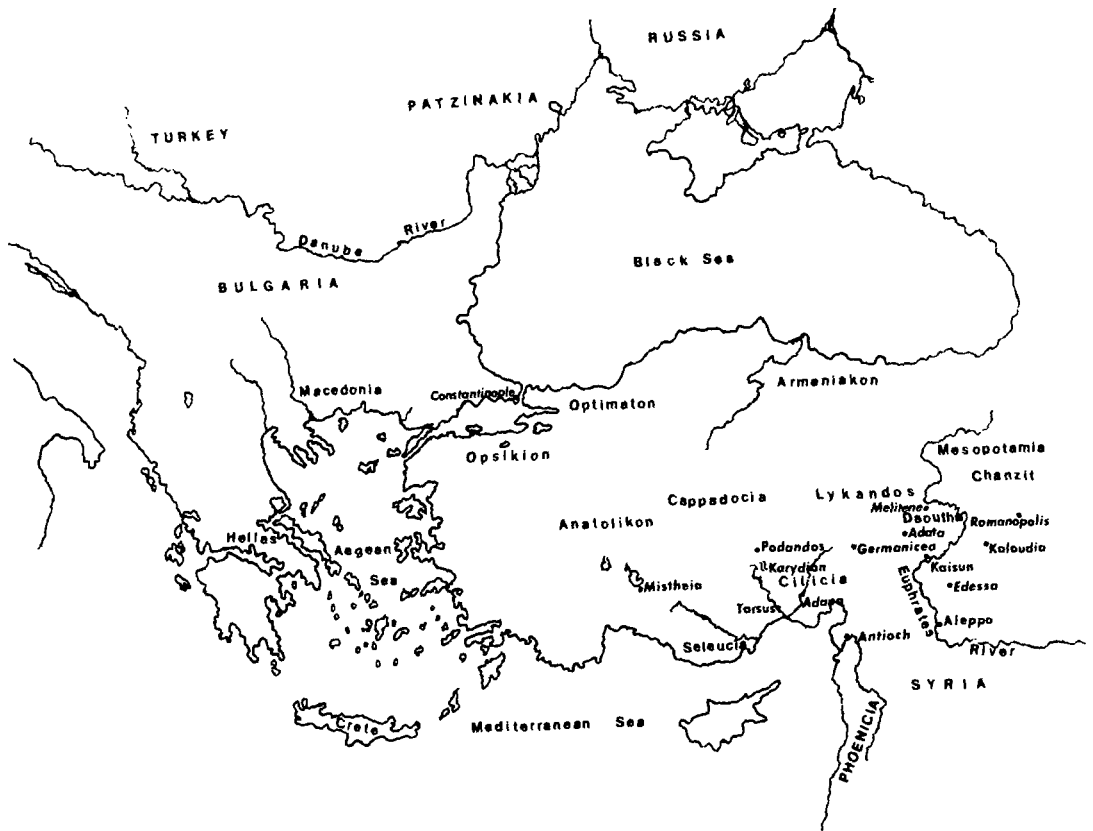
The Escorial manuscript is the only one of the three to preserve the full text; some pages of V are missing, as is most of B. The three manuscripts are very close, however, and are not far removed from the original. Basing one's judgment on the proportion of scribal errors occurring in other military works, one could estimate that two, perhaps three, copies intervened between the writing of the original treatise and the copying of V.

The text was first edited and published, along with the *History* of Leo the Deacon, by C. B. Hase in Paris in 1819, *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem et liber de Velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti*, and reprinted in the *Bonn Corpus* in 1828 (pages 179–258). Hase based his edition on four manuscripts: *Paris. gr. 2437*, *2445*, *suppl. gr. 26*, and *Vat. Palat. gr. 393*, all of which date from the sixteenth century. A critical edition, clearly, must be based on the manuscripts of the early eleventh century, VSB.

The language of the treatise, while not elegant or pretentious, is certainly literate, and the author must have had some education. His writing is straightforward, practical, and to the point. This edition retains those characteristics, without attempting to correct or polish the author's Greek, except for some obvious standardizing of the orthography. The translation has endeavored to reproduce the tone as well as the content of the text. Some words have no clear equivalent in English—turmarch, tagma, saka, foulkon—and have been left as written. Brief, explanatory notes accompany the translation.

<sup>11</sup>A. Dain, *Histoire du texte d'Elie le tacticien* (Paris, 1946); *idem*, "Stratégistes," 317–92; Maurice, *Strategikon* (ed. Dennis), 20–21.

<sup>12</sup>Maurice, *Strategikon*, 35–36.



4. Map of Byzantine Empire in Tenth Century

# TEXT and TRANSLATION

S f. 279<sup>v</sup>

B f. 235

H 181

## Περὶ παραδρομῆς

Τοῦ κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ βασιλέως

α'. Περὶ βιγλῶν, καὶ πόσον διάστημα ὀφείλει ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μία ἐκάστη διῆσθαι.

5 β'. Περὶ τῶν καμινοβιγλίων καὶ κατασκόπων.

γ'. Περὶ κινήσεως ἐχθρῶν <καὶ> τοῦ προκατασχεθῆναι τὰς δυσχωρίας.

δ'. Περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις, καὶ περὶ τοῦ προσυπαντᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαναστρέφοντας.

10 ε'. Περὶ προκατασχέσεως ὑδάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς στενώμασιν ὄντων.

ς'. Περὶ παραδρομῆς τῶν μονοκούρσων καὶ στοχασμοῦ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ποσότητος.

ζ'. Περὶ συναθροίσεως καὶ κινήσεως φοσσάτου, καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραχωρεῖν τοὺς πραγματεντὰς εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ κατασκοπεῖν.

15 η'. Περὶ παραμονῆς φοσσάτου καὶ ἀκολουθήσεως.

θ'. Περὶ τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ κούρσου καὶ ἀκολουθήσεως.

ι'. Περὶ τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ κούρσου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ὅπισθεν ἐπακολουθοῦντος.

20 ια'. Περὶ τοῦ ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἵστασθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις.

H 182 ιβ'. Περὶ ἀθρόας ἐξελεύσεως τῶν πολεμίων πρὸ τοῦ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ ἐπισυναχθῆναι στρατεύματα.

ιγ'. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνεδρεῦσαι κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων μινσουρατόρων ἐν τοῖς ἀπλήκτοις.

25 ιδ'. Περὶ τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῶν ἱππέων ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, ὁδοιπορούντων ὁμοῦ.

ιε'. Περὶ ἀσφαλείας.

ις'. Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ τούλδου.

S f. 280 30 ιζ'. Περὶ τῶν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρεχόντων πολεμίων τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς μετὰ ἐγκρυμμάτων παρασκευῆς.

ιη'. Περὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ δύο μερῶν τῶν πολεμίων παραδρομὴν ποιῆσαι.

ιθ'. Περὶ καταστάσεως καὶ ἐξοπλίσεως καὶ γυμνασίας στρατοῦ.

## SKIRMISHING

By the Emperor Lord Nikephoros

1. Watch posts. How far apart they ought to be from one another.
2. Watch posts on the road, and spies.
3. Enemy movements. Occupying difficult terrain in advance.
4. Making unexpected attacks on the enemy. Confronting the enemy as they are returning to their own country.
5. Controlling the water in the passes ahead of time.
6. Skirmishing tactics in single raids and estimating the number of men in one.
7. The assembling and movement of the army. Making use of merchants to go out and spy.
8. Shadowing and following an army.
9. Movement of raiding parties and following them.
10. When the raiding party separates itself from the troops following along behind.
11. Stationing the infantry on both sides in defiles.
12. A surprise attack by the enemy before the Roman forces can be mobilized.
13. Laying an ambush for the so-called *mensuratores* by their campsite.
14. Withdrawing the cavalry from the infantry when they are marching together.
15. Security.
16. Separating from the baggage train.
17. When the enemy ride into our country with a large force. Preparing an ambush.
18. When it is necessary for the general to skirmish against the enemy from two sides.
19. The condition of the army. Its armament and training.



- 35 κ'. *Περὶ τῶν ἐγγχρονιζόντων πολεμίων κατὰ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν, ἵνα <ὁ>  
ἡμέτερος στρατὸς κατὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐπέλθῃ.*  
κα'. *Περὶ πολιορκίας κάστρου.*  
B f. 235' κβ'. *Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ λαοῦ τῶν | ἡμισέων πολεμίων ἢ καὶ τοῦ τρί-  
του μέρους.*  
40 κγ'. *Περὶ τῆς ὑποστροφῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ κατασχέσεως τῆς κλει-  
σούρας.*  
κδ'. *Περὶ νυκτοπολέμου.*  
κε'. *Περὶ ἑτέρας κατασχέσεως ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς κατάβασιν δυσχωρίαν  
ἀποτελούσης.*|

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SB (V abest) **index:** 6 καὶ Hase: om. SB || 18 τοῦ λαοῦ Hase: τοῦ τούλδου SB || 24 μιν-  
σουρατόρων Hase: μισουρατόρων SB || 26 ὁδοιπορούντων Hase: ὑποχωρούντων SB || 35 ὁ Hase:  
om. SB || 43 εἰς De: εἰς τὴν SB

S f. 281  
B f. 236  
H 183

## Περὶ Παραδρομῆς

τοῦ κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ βασιλέως

- Τὴν τῆς παραδρομῆς μέθοδον παραδοῦναι βουλόμενοι, εἰ τάχα  
καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν μὴ χρειώδης ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ τῆς ἔω μέρη,  
5 ἅτε Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τὸ πολὺ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν δυνά-  
μεως καὶ ἰσχύος τῶν τοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ ἐκγόνων ἀμβλύναντος, καὶ τὰς  
ἐφόδους αὐτῶν ἀναχαιτίσαντος· ἀλλ' οὖν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν λήθην καὶ  
H 184 ἄγνοιαν ἐπεισαγαγὼν ὁ χρόνος φθείρῃ τὸ ταύτης | ἐπωφελὲς καὶ  
ἐξαφανίσειε, δεῖν ᾤθημεν γραφῇ παραδοῦναι ταύτην· ἵν', εἴ ποτε  
10 ταύτης δεήσῃ Χριστιανοῖς, καιροῦ τινος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καλοῦν-  
τος, ἔτοιμός ἐστι συνεργὸς ἀγαθῇ τῷ τε κοινῷ παντί, καὶ τοῖς αὐτὴν  
μεταχειριζομένοις.

- Ἡμεῖς γοῦν ταύτην οὐ μονοноῦκ ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
πεῖράν τινα παρ' αὐτῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν· τὸ μὲν αὐτοὺς σχόντες διδα-  
15 σκάλους καὶ παιδευτὰς τοὺς ταύτην, σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐφευρόντας τὴν  
μέθοδον· τὸ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μόνοι ταύτη χρησάμενοι καὶ πεῖραν αὐτῆς  
ἐγκολπωσάμενοί τινα κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν. αὕτη τοίνυν κατὰ τοῦτο  
ἔχει τὸ χρήσιμον, ὅτι περ οἱ ταύτην μετήλθοσαν μετ' ὀλίγου μαχίμου  
λαοῦ μέγιστα καὶ ἀξιωμανημόνευτα ἐξετέλεσαν ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἅτινα  
20 μὴ κατορθῶσαι ἴσχυσεν ἢ ἐτόλμησεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων σύμπασα στρατιὰ  
ὅτε τὰ τῶν Κιλικίων καὶ τοῦ Χαμβδᾶ ἤκμαζεν, εἰς ἐνίστε τῶν ἀρίστων  
στρατηγῶν σὺν μόνῳ τῷ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν θέματος λαῷ φρονίμως καὶ ἐμ-  
πείρως τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιτηδευσάμενος, καὶ συνετῶς διατεθεὶς καὶ

20. While the enemy delay in our country our army can invade theirs.
21. The siege of a fortified town.
22. Separation of half or a third of the enemy army.
23. Retreat of the enemy and occupation of the mountain passes.
24. Fighting at night.
25. Another method of occupying the road and making descent difficult.

### Skirmishing

By the Emperor Lord Nikephoros

Although it is our intention to set down instructions about skirmishing, we must bear in mind that they might not find much application in the eastern regions at the present time. For Christ, our true God, has greatly cut back the power and strength of the offspring of Ismael and has repelled their onslaughts.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, in order that time, which leads us to forget what we once knew, might not completely blot out this useful knowledge, we think we ought to commit it to writing. If in the future, then, some situation should arise in which Christians need this knowledge, it will be readily available to assist those who have the responsibility of using it, as well as the entire commonwealth.

We have acquired this knowledge not simply from hearing about it but also from having been taught by a certain amount of experience. For one thing, the men who instructed and trained us in this method were the very ones, you might say, who invented it. Then, on our own, we have put it into practice and, as best we could, almost made it a part of us. This method has the following advantage. By making use of it some commanders with only a small fighting force have achieved prodigious and truly remarkable results. Let me give an example. The entire Roman army could not find the daring or the strength to restore order at the time when everything was working out in favor of the Cilicians and Hamdan.<sup>2</sup> It was then that one of the best generals of the day, accompanied only by the men of his own theme, relying on his intelligence and experience, took action against the enemy. He laid his plans carefully, campaigned against them, and by himself brought the situation under control.<sup>3</sup> We say this not because we prefer a small fighting force to a larger one or because we think this method is better than all other stratagems and tactical procedures, but because it has proven itself to be extremely helpful for the best generals. When the situation is such that they cannot confront the enemy directly, they may employ this method, and they will preserve both themselves and their country free from harm.

στρατηγήσας μόνος ἀπήρτισε. τοῦτο δέ φαμεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ πλείονος  
 25 τὸ ὀλίγον προκρίνομεν μάχιμον, οὐδ' ὅτι ταύτην ἐξαίρομεν τῶν  
 λοιπῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς τακτικῆς, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις αὕτη συνεργὸς ἀρίστη καθέστηκεν· ἔν', ὅτε  
 H 185 μεθόδῳ χρώμενοι, | ἀβλαβεῖς τε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν συντηροῖεν  
 30 χάραν.

Ταύτην Βάρδας ὁ μακαρίτης Καῖσαρ, ὅσα ἐμέ γινώσκειν, εἰς  
 ἄκρον κατώρθωσε, καὶ παντελῶς ἀφανισθεῖσαν ἀνενεώσατο—ἵνα μὴ  
 τοὺς παλαιοὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπαριθμῶμαι καθ' ἕκαστον, μόνους δὲ  
 B f. 236<sup>v</sup> τοὺς πᾶσι γνωρίμους καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς—ὅς ἐν τοῖς γειτονοῦσι | τῇ Ταρσῶ  
 S f. 281<sup>v</sup> 35 θέμασι, τῇ τε Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀνατολικῇ | στρατηγῶν, μυριάκις  
 τὰς τῶν Ταρσέων καὶ λοιπῶν Κιλικίων δυνάμεις ἐτραυμάτισε, καὶ  
 μέγιστα κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνεστήσατο τρόπαια. παρ' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς ταύτην  
 γυμνασθέντες τὴν μέθοδον τὴν ταύτης κἂν ποσῶς παρειλήφαμεν  
 πείραν. πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος Πατρίκιος, ᾧ Μαλειῖνός ἐπί-  
 40 κλησις, χρόνους πλείστους Καππαδοκῶν στρατηγήσας καὶ ταύτην  
 συνεργὸν ἔχων, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ἀπειργάσατο κατορθώματα.

Σὺν τούτοις καὶ ὁ κύρις Νικηφόρος, ὁ αἰοίδιμος βασιλεὺς, ταύτην  
 ἄκρως μετέηλθεν· ὃς δήπου στρατηγῶν καὶ ταύτῃ χρώμενος πάμ-  
 πολλα καὶ ἀξιάγαστα ἔργα πεποίηκε, μυριάκις, ὥς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς πολε-  
 45 μίους τρεψάμενος, καὶ μέγιστα τούτων στρατεύματα κατακόψας. οὐ  
 τὰς ἀριστείας, καθ' ὃν ἐστρατήγει καιρόν, συγγράφειν ἢ ἀπαριθμεῖ-  
 σθαι ὀχληρὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι διὰ τε τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πλήθος  
 καὶ τὸ παρὰ πολ | λῶν γινώσκεσθαι. ὃς ταύτην ἔργῳ μεμαθηκῶς  
 εὖχρηστον οὖσαν, ἐγγράφως πρὸς κοινὴν λυσιτέλειαν, ὅπως δεῖ  
 50 χρῆσθαι ταύτῃ, ἐξέθετο· κάμοι πάρηγγύησε, καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἀκρι-  
 βῶς περὶ αὐτῆς συγγράψαι καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς μεθεξῆς. μὴ μόνον  
 δὲ περὶ ταύτης τῆς τῇ ἑῷ προσηκούσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῇ ἐσπέρας  
 ὠφελίμου καθεστηκυίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πλείστᾳ τε στρατηγήσαι,  
 καὶ πείραν, ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν φύσει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀθροῖσαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ  
 55 ἐκείνης μὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήσεται, νυνὶ δὲ σκοπὸς ἡμῖν περὶ  
 τῆς ἐτέρας διαλαβεῖν. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου τηρῶν ἐντολήν, συνεργῶ  
 τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι χρώμενος, ἥτις ἐν ᾧ πασι συνεπιλαμβάνεται τοῖς  
 καλοῖς, ὧδε πῶς ἀπάρχομαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

To the best of my knowledge, it was Bardas, the blessed Caesar, who brought this method to the summit of perfection.<sup>4</sup> I do not want to enumerate all the ancient commanders but shall limit myself to those in our own time whom everyone knows. When this method had completely vanished, it was Bardas who brought it back. When he was general in the themes bordering on Tarsus, namely, Cappadocia and Anatolikon, thousands of times he inflicted harm on the forces of Tarsus and the rest of Cilicia and gained tremendous victories over them. It was by him that I too was trained in this method, even though I also acquired a good deal from experience. In addition to him there was Constantine the Patrician, whose surname was Maleinos.<sup>5</sup> For many years he was general of Cappadocia and made regular use of this method, achieving great results.

In their company belongs Lord Nikephoros, the revered emperor, who pursued this method to the highest degree.<sup>6</sup> When he was the commander and used it, he accomplished a great number of admirable deeds. Thousands of times, so to speak, he routed the enemy and cut down huge armies of them. The reader might find it tiresome if we were to describe or even list his valiant deeds during the period of his command, since there are so very many of them and they are so well known. By putting it into practice he realized how useful this method was and decreed that instructions on employing it should be written down for the benefit of all. He entrusted me with the task of describing the method as accurately as possible and handing it on to those who would come after us. Not only should I write about what applies in the East but also about what should prove helpful in the West, since I spent a long time commanding troops there and acquired as much experience as I could and made it part of me. That aspect, however, will be treated separately in another place. Our purpose now is to discuss the East. So, then, observing his command and relying upon the assistance of God's grace, which is always bestowed upon men of goodwill, I now begin with the subject.

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<sup>1</sup>Ismael (Ishmael), son of Abraham and Hagar (Gen. 16:15), regarded by the Byzantines as the forefather of the Arabs and, as such, of the Muslims.

<sup>2</sup>Ali ibn-Hamdun, alias Sayf ad-Dawla, emir of Aleppo.

<sup>3</sup>This may refer to the ambush and defeat of Sayf's army in 950 on its return from an extensive plundering expedition, but there were so many victories and defeats in this period that one cannot be certain.

<sup>4</sup>Bardas Phokas was appointed to military command by Empress Zoe in 915; he was general of the themes of Cappadocia and Anatolikon, and was named domestic of the schools for the East in 944, but he seems to have lost more battles than he won. He retired in 955, was given the title of Caesar in 963, and died late in 969.

<sup>5</sup>He was present with Leo Phokas at the ambush of 960: *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 479. He may be the ibn-al-Mala'ini defeated by the Tarsians in 962: Canard, *Hamdanides*, 776. Not much else is known about him. Michael Maleinos was a maternal uncle of Emperor Nikephoros, and, some years later, Eustathios Maleinos was involved in a rebellion against Basil II.

<sup>6</sup>He succeeded his father, Bardas Phokas, as domestic of the schools for the East in 955, led the expedition that reconquered Crete in 961, was proclaimed emperor by his troops and crowned in Constantinople on 16 August 963, and assassinated on 10 December 969.

(α'.)

Περὶ βιγλῶν, καὶ πόσον διάστημα ὀφείλει  
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μία ἐκάστη διῆστασθαι.

Τοὺς τῶν μεγάλων ἀκριτικῶν θεμάτων τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀναδεχο-  
5 μένους, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπικράτειαν τὰς κλεισούρας ἔχοντας,  
πάσῃ μηχανῇ καὶ προθέσει καὶ ἀγρύπνῳ ἐπιμελείᾳ προσήκει σπου-  
δάζειν καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώρας διαφυλάττειν τῆς  
τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομῆς ἀσινεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους, βιγλάτορας |  
B f. 237 ἐφιστῶντας ῥωμαλέους καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖους, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰς ἄκρον  
S f. 282 10 ἐπισταμένους. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὅρῃ εἰσὶν ὑψηλὰ | καὶ δύσ|βατα διορίζοντα  
H 187 τὴν πολεμίαν, ἐν τούτοις τὰς βίγλας ἵστασθαι· ἀπέχειν δὲ τὰς στά-  
σεις διὰ τῶν βιγλατόρων ἄχρι μιλίων γ' ἢ δ'. καὶ ἡνίκα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
ἐξερχομένους θεάσονται, δρομαίως ἀπέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἕτερον στασί-  
διον καὶ ἀπαγγέλλειν ἃ ἐθεάσαντο, κἀκείνους πάλιν πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον  
15 στασίδιον σπουδῇ πολλῇ· καὶ οὕτω καθεξῆς μηνύεσθαι τὰ τῶν κα-  
βαλλαρίων στασίδια εἰς τοὺς ἐφωμάλους τόπους ἱστάμενα, καὶ δι'  
αὐτῶν ἀναμανθάνειν τὸν στρατηγὸν τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔφοδον.

Καρτερεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁδῶν φυ-  
λακῇ, ἐπιφερομένους καὶ τὴν διαρκοῦσαν αὐτοῖς τροφὴν τῶν αὐτῶν  
20 ἡμερῶν. εἰθ' οὕτως ἀπέρχεσθαι ἐτέρους εἰς τὴν τούτων ὑπαλλαγήν,  
καλῶς ἀδνουμιαζομένους καὶ εὐτρεπιζομένους παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων,  
καὶ σφύους καὶ ἀνελλιπείς κατὰ τὸν τυπωθέντα ἀριθμὸν ἀποστελλο-  
μένους, καὶ μὴ δι' αἰσχροὺς κέρδους οἴκοι καθέξεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόν-  
των αὐτῶν ἐαθῶσιν.

25 Ἐξεστί δὲ τοὺς βιγλάτορας ἀφορᾶν ἐν οἷς ἅπληκτα τῶν πολε-  
μίων ἀρμόζει γίνεσθαι. ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὰ ἅπληκτα ὡς ἐπίπαν εἴωθε γίνε-  
σθαι ἐν οἷς ὕδωρ ἐστὶ διαρκὲς καὶ τόπος ἐφώματος. ἐτέρους δὲ βλέ-  
πειν ἐν οἷς ἡ ὁδὸς ἀποτελεῖ στένωμα· ἄλλους δὲ ὅπου ποταμὸς ὑπάρ-  
χει δυσπέρατος. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς φυλαττόντων, οὐ δυνή-  
30 σονται οἱ πολέμιοι λάθρα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐξέλευσιν. ἀποστελλεῖν  
τε πιστοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐμπειροτάτους τοῦ ἐφορᾶν αὐτούς, εἴ γε  
καλῶς καὶ ἀγρύπνως τὰ κατατόπια αὐτῶν διαφυλάττουσι. καὶ οἱ τυ-  
πωθέντες βιγλάτορες σφῶι τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ μὴ ἐλλιπείς ἀπέρχονται,  
καὶ μὴ καταλιμπάνωσι τὰς στάσεις αὐτῶν, ἐν αἷς βλέ|πειν καὶ φυ-  
H 188 λάττειν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐτάχθησαν, μήτε χρονίζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς στασι-  
35 δίοις, ἀλλ' ἐναλλάσσειν τοὺς τόπους καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μεταβαίνειν· ἵνα  
μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ χρονίζοντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, διαγινωσκόμενοι εὐά-  
λωτοι γίνωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

## 1.

Watch posts. How far apart they ought to be from one another.

Commanders who have assumed responsibility for the large border themes and who have authority over the mountain passes should use every device, take every step, and never relax in their concern to labor and fight to preserve the territory of the Romans secure and unharmed from the incursions of the enemy. To this end they should station sentries who are in good physical condition, competent, and who know the roads perfectly. If there are high and rugged mountains on the frontier with the enemy, they should place the watch posts on them. The posts for the sentries should be about three or four miles apart.<sup>1</sup> When they observe the enemy moving out they should quickly hurry off to the next station and report what they observed. In turn, those men should race off to the next station. In this way the information will eventually reach the cavalry posts situated on more level terrain. They will then inform the general of the alien incursion.

The men should spend fifteen days in watching the roads, bringing enough provisions with them for that number of days. Lists of soldiers should be carefully drawn up and the men gotten ready by the officers, so that replacements may be sent to relieve the men at the posts. The full complement of troops as set down in the lists must be sent out on a regular basis, and nobody should be allowed to stay at home by the officers because of shameful gain.

The sentries should be on the lookout for places in which the enemy are likely to make camp. These are usually places in which the ground is level and there is plenty of water. Other men should look for places in which the roadway narrows, and still others where there is a river difficult to cross. If they guard these places carefully, the enemy will not be able to move out secretly. Trustworthy and very experienced men should be sent out to check and see if the sentries are guarding their areas carefully and without slackening. The exact number of sentries as listed should go out with none missing; they should not leave the posts to which they have been assigned to observe and guard the roads. They should not stay in the same station for a long time but should change and move to another place. Otherwise, if they are too long in the same place, they will be recognized and might easily be captured by the enemy.

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<sup>1</sup>The length of the Byzantine mile varied, but the most regular seems to have been 1574.16 m.: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 32–36.

(β'.)

Περὶ τῶν καμινοβιγλίων καὶ κατασκόπων.

Ἀναγκαία δὲ ἡ τῶν καμινοβιγλατόρων ὑπάρχει ὠφέλεια. καὶ  
 B f. 237<sup>v</sup> χρὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τούτων πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν | ἐπιμέλειαν,  
 5 καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις τόποις ἐφιστᾶν τὰ καμινοβίγλια· ὅπως, ἡνίκα  
 S f. 282<sup>v</sup> κίνησις τῶν ἐχθρῶν | γένηται, καὶ οἱ βιγλάτορες ταύτης αἰσθωνται  
 διὰ τῶν καμινοβίγλων, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ἐξέλευσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 προγινώσκη, καὶ ποίαν ὁδὸν ἐξελθεῖν μέλλωσι, καὶ αἱ χῶραι δι'  
 αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐκσπηλατόρων καταμηνύμεναι, τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι  
 10 καταφεύγῃσι καὶ τὰ τούτων θρέμματα.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄκραις τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν θεμάτων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι  
 οὐ καλῶς οὐδὲ ἀσφαλῶς τὴν τῶν βιγλῶν ἐκτελοῦσι δουλείαν, ὀφειλό-  
 μενόν ἐστι φυλάττεσθαι τὸν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ κρατήσαντα τύπον ἐν ταῖς  
 βίγλαις τῶν Ἀρμενίων. καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐπιλέγεσθαι καὶ ἀπογρά-  
 15 φεσθαι ἐπιτηδείους, λαμβάνοντας μισθὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπι-  
 σωρευόμενον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ τοιοῦτος στρατὸς τῇ τῶν βιγλῶν λειτουργίᾳ  
 ὑπηρετεῖν ὀφείλει, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀννῶνας ἐκάστῳ μηνὶ τὴν τετυ-  
 πωμένην, καὶ ὑπαλλάττειν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν  
 τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐν αἷς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξέρχονται φυλάττειν ἀσφαλῶς.

H 189 20 Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ μετὰ μισθοῦ καὶ | ἀννῶνας, Ἀρμένιοι  
 ὄντες, καλῶς τῇ τῶν βιγλῶν ὑπηρετοῦσι δουλείᾳ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστελ-  
 λομένων κατασκόπων χρὴ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν φορσάτων ἀναμανθάν-  
 νειν. καὶ τραπεζίτας ἐπιλέγεσθαι γενναίους καὶ ἀνδρείους, οὓς οἱ  
 Ἀρμένιοι τασιναρίους καλοῦσιν, καὶ ἐν ματρικίοις ἀπογράφεσθαι,  
 25 καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐφιστᾶν, οἷς πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ πολλὴν ἐμ-  
 πειρία τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς Συρίας χωρῶν πρόσεστι. καὶ τούτους διη-  
 νεκῶς ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ κατέρχεσθαι εἰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας καὶ  
 καινοτομεῖν αὐτάς καὶ βλάπτειν. καὶ εἴ που δυνηθῶσι τινὰς κατα-  
 σχεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν διέποντα στρατηγὸν  
 30 ἀποκομίζειν, ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κινήσεις καὶ βουλὰς  
 ἀναμανθάνῃ.

2: 11 ἀρμενιακῶν Hase: ἀρμενικῶν SB || 13 φυλάττεσθαι S: φυλάττων B || 13–14 τὸν . . .  
 τῶν S: om. B || 29 καὶ B: om. S

## 2.

## Watch posts on the road and spies.

The role played by the sentries along the roads is essential. The general must devote a good deal of attention to these also and set up their posts in suitable locations, so that when the enemy begin to move the sentries will learn of it from the posts along the road. The general will have advance knowledge that the enemy are moving out and what road they plan on taking. The people in the countryside, then, warned by the sentries and the *expilatores*,<sup>1</sup> may take refuge with their animals in fortified locations.

On the borders of the Armenian themes in which the Armenians may be acting as sentries, the regulations which have been in force from ancient times should be observed, since the Armenians carry out sentry duty rather poorly and carelessly.<sup>2</sup> Select and sign up qualified men as sentries, whose wages should come from the funds the army should have set aside for their services. They should receive the stipulated allowance each month. They should also be rotated each month. Their duty is to guard the roads along which the enemy may approach.

But even with the salary and monthly allowance, these men are not very likely to perform the sentry duty well, for, after all, they are still Armenians. We must, then, rely on spies for information about the movements of the armies. Select some good, courageous *trapezites*, those whom the Armenians call *tasinarioi*.<sup>3</sup> Enter their names onto the rolls. Set officers over them who should be courageous and who should, in addition, possess excellent firsthand knowledge of the roads and of the Syrian countryside. These men should be sent out constantly to charge down on the lands of the enemy, cause harm and ravage them. If possible, they should also capture some of the enemy and bring them back to the commanding general, so that he might obtain information from them about the movements and plans of the enemy.

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<sup>1</sup>*Expilator*, a Latin word, means a robber or plunderer but here seems to designate a scout of some sort. In these border areas the distinction was probably minimal.

<sup>2</sup>See S. Vryonis, "Byzantium: The Social Basis of Decline in the Eleventh Century," *GRBS*, 2 (1959), 159–75; P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, 1963), 34.

<sup>3</sup>These seem to have been fast-riding warriors, organized in small units, and employed in scouting and raiding. In the West they were known as Chosarioi, which developed into the term *hussar*. They are mentioned a century later by Kekaumenos, 9, p. 134. See M. Canard, "Sur deux termes militaires byzantins d'origine orientale," *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), 226–29; repr. in *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient* (London, 1973), xxi.



(γ'.)

Περὶ κινήσεως ἐχθρῶν καὶ τοῦ  
προκατασχεθῆναι τὰς δυσχωρίας.

Ἄναδιδασκόμενος δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κινήσεις,  
5 ὀφείλει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον λαὸν ἐπισυνάγειν καὶ ἐξοπλίζειν, καὶ  
πρὸς τὰς ἄκρας παραγίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν ἅπαν ἐπισυνάγειν  
πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, καθ' ἣν ὁρμήσουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ εἰ μὲν  
S f. 283 μετ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐξέρχασθαι ἀναμάθῃ, σπευσάτω  
προσυνπαντῆσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ καταπολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ πεζικοῦ λαοῦ |  
B f. 238 10 καὶ τῶν ἵππέων, εἴ γε τὸ τῶν πεζῶν στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν καὶ  
συστήσασθαι δεδύνηται.

Καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰ στενώματα καὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐπιτηδειότερός  
H 190 ἐστίν ὁ μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν πόλεμος, δέον ἐστὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν καὶ  
κατέχειν τὰ ὑψηλότερα τῶν ὁρῶν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων  
15 μερῶν, εἴπερ ἡ θέσις τοῦ τόπου ἐστὶν ἐπιτηδεῖος, τὰς πεζικὰς διῡστὰν  
παρατάξεις. ἐν οἷς δὲ ἵππέων ἀρμόζει πόλεμον γίνεσθαι συνεῖναι  
τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππεῖς, ἵνα τὴν τοιαύτην παρασκευὴν καὶ κατάσχεσιν  
τῶν στενωμάτων ἀκούοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπισχῶσι τὴν  
φορὰν τούτων ἢ καταγωνισθῶσι Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ. ὅπου δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀμφο-  
20 τέρων τῶν μερῶν ἢ τοῦ τόπου θέσις προσβαλεῖν πόλεμον ἀρμόζει,  
ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνός, ὡσαύτως κάκεινο ὑπερέχον τὸ μέρος προκατασχεῖν  
δεῖ. ἐν οἷς δὲ τὴν προσβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βουνοῦ τὸ τοῦ  
τόπου ἀνεπιτηδεῖον γενέσθαι διακωλύει, ἀλλὰ μικρόν τι προσανω-  
φερὴς ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ τραχεῖα, ἔχουσα καὶ ῥύακας, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτων  
25 στενωτάτην καὶ αὐτὴν εὐρίσκεσθαι, χρὴ τὴν τῶν πεζῶν παράταξιν  
ὡσαύτως ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων παρασκευάζειν, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν κρατεῖν  
καὶ ἀποφράττειν δι' ὀπλιτῶν ἀσπιδηφόρων καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν· ὅπισθεν  
δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐκ χειρῶν λίθους βάλλοντας, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ τοξότας  
καὶ σφενδονήτας. καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην παράταξιν καὶ δευτέραν  
30 ἐπομένην αὐτῇ παρασκευάζειν. ἐκατέωθεν δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τῆς  
φυλαττούσης τὴν μέσσην (ὁδόν), ἀκοντιστὰς καθιστᾶν, ψιλούς τε καὶ  
σφενδονήτας.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς λέγεται εἶναι δεξιᾷ καὶ εὐωνύμῃ τῆς  
παρατάξεως τῆς φυλαττούσης τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν μὴ σύνεγγυς ἀλλὰ  
35 πόρρωθεν, ἃς οἱ ἀκρίται ἀτραποὺς καλοῦσι, δέον καὶ ταύτας κρα-  
τεῖσθαι μετὰ πεζῶν, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι ἀκριβῶς· μὴ ποτε, μανθα-  
νόντων τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ κρατεῖσθαι  
μετὰ πλήθους λαοῦ, εἰς ἑτέραν τῶν ἐκ πλαγίων ὁρμήσωσι, καί, εἰ μὴ  
H 191 καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττηται, εὖρωσιν ἐκεῖθεν πάροδον, καὶ γεννη-  
S f. 283' 40 θῶσιν ἐκ πλαγίου ἢ καὶ ἐκ νώτου τῶν παρατάξεων, καὶ περισπα-  
σμὸν καὶ φόβον τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατῷ προξενήσωσιν. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ

## 3.

Enemy movements. Occupying difficult terrain in advance.

Upon learning that the enemy have begun to move, the general must assemble his own troops, make sure they are armed, and proceed to the border areas. The entire infantry force should advance toward the road along which the enemy will soon move out. If he learns that only a small enemy force is riding out, he should make haste to meet up with them and have the foot soldiers together with the cavalry overwhelm them, if indeed he has been able to assemble and organize the infantry.

Since the infantry is more suited for fighting on narrow and difficult ground, it is necessary to make use of it to occupy the mountain heights in advance and to hold on to them. If the terrain permits, infantry units should be stationed on both sides. In sectors which are also suited for cavalry action, have the horsemen join with the infantry. When the enemy hear about our preparations and that we have occupied the passes, they will either slow down their advance or, with God's help, they will be beaten back. In case the ground is not suited for launching an attack from both sides but only from one, then that elevated part ought to be occupied in advance. In places which are not suitable and which do not allow us to launch our attack from a high mountain, but in which the road rises gradually and is rough and made narrow by little streams, the infantry units must still be positioned on higher ground. They should seize the road and block it with soldiers bearing shields and javelins. Behind them should be archers, men who can throw rocks, and more slingers. Get a second line organized to stand behind the first. On both sides of the line guarding the road down the middle, station men with javelins, light-armed troops, and slingers.

If they say that there are other roads, of the sort which the border guards call *atrapoi*,<sup>1</sup> off to the right or to the left of the line guarding the public road, not close by but further off, these too should be seized by the infantry and tightly guarded. Otherwise, if the enemy find out that the public road is securely held by a large number of troops, they will advance along one of those off to the side. If this should not be well and securely guarded, the enemy will use that to find a way through and will appear to the sides or the rear of our formation, injecting confusion and fear into the Roman army. But if both sides are tightly guarded, then the enemy will

B f. 238<sup>a</sup>

ἀσφαλῶς φυλαττομένων, ἢ πρὸς μάχην | τῶν πολεμίων ὁρμώντων  
 Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ καταισχυνηθήσονται, ἢ ὀρρωδίᾳ κατασχεθέντες δι' ἄλ-  
 λης ὁδοῦ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν διάστημα ἀπεχούσης τὴν ὁρμὴν ποιήσονται.

45

Καὶ ὥς ἐντεῦθεν δύο κακὰ προσγένωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· ἐν μὲν,  
 ταλαιπωρηθῆναι τῷ τῶν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν διαστήματι, καταλιποῦσι  
 τὰ τούτων ἄπληκτα καὶ τὴν εὐθείαν ὁδόν· ἕτερον δέ, τὸ καὶ ἀπώλειαν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπάγον, τὸ αὐτοὺς μὲν δειλανδρῆσαι καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ ὑποβληθῆναι·  
 τοὺς δὲ (Ῥωμαίους) προθυμωτέρους καὶ εὐτολμωτέρους πρὸς τὸν κατ'

50

αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. οἷον δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἄλῃ τῷ  
 νῖῳ τοῦ Χαμβδᾶ ἐκ τρίτου παθεῖν συμβέβηκεν· δις μὲν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις  
 τοῦ αἰοιδίμου καὶ τρισμάκαρος Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου  
 βασιλέως, ἅπαξ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ μακαρί-  
 του υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ πάντες σχεδὸν τὴν τότε γενομένην πανολεθρίαν

55

τῶν ἀρνητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστανται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς  
 τῶν Ταρσέων καὶ τῆς τῶν Κιλικῶν χώρας ἐν διαφόροις τόποις τῶν  
 στενωμάτων παρὰ τῶν τότε τῆς ἄκρας προνοουμένων στρατηγῶν  
 κατετροπώθησαν.

3: 8 ἀναμάθη Hase: ἀναμάθωσιν SB || 10 συναγαγεῖν S: συναγεῖν B || 14 κατέχειν B:  
 κατέχει S || 19 τούτων S: om. B || 31 ὁδόν Hase: om. SB || 36 ἀκριβῶς B: ἀσφαλῶς S || 49 Ῥωμαίους  
 Hase: om. SB || 54 αὐτοῦ B: om. S

H 192

&lt;δ' .&gt;

Περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις,  
 καὶ περὶ τοῦ προσυπαντᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους  
 πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαναστρέφοντας.

5

Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διὰ σκοποῦ καὶ μελέτης ἔχειν τὸν στρατηγόν,  
 καὶ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν τίθεσθαι, λάθρα καὶ ἀδοκῆτως, εἰ οἷόν τε, τὰς  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις ποιεῖσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ τοιούτου ἐπιτηδεύματος  
 τυγχάνων ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ μετ' ὀλιγοστοῦ λαοῦ πολλοὺς τῶν πολε-  
 μίων κατατροπώσεται. εἰ δέ, ὥς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται, καὶ τόπου ἐπι-  
 10 τύχῃ ἐν τοῖς στενώμασιν, ἐκ δύο μερῶν τὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πόλεμον  
 τὸ ἐπιτήδειον ἔχοντος, ἀδιστάκτως ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ καλῶς  
 συντάσσειν τὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαόν, Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς  
 πολεμίους τροπώσεται.

S f. 284

Πλὴν κατὰ πολὺ ἐστὶ λυσιτελέστερον καὶ ἀρμοδιώτερον | ὑπὲρ  
 15 τοῦ προσυπαντᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους μέλλοντας ἐξιέναι κατὰ Ῥωμανίας,  
 ὅτε μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων χωρῶν πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαναστρέ-

either charge into battle and, with God's help, will be put to shame, or, struck with terror, they will take another road a number of days distant.

The enemy will then face two problems. The first is that they will be worn out by marching for several days away from their camp and the good road. The second, which will be their ruin, is that they will be demoralized and fall into despair, while the Romans will become more daring and more eager to do battle with them. This is what happened three times in the past to Ali, the son of Hamdan, twice in the reign of the revered and thrice-blessed emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus and once in that of the good emperor Romanos, his blessed son.<sup>2</sup> Virtually everyone knows all about the complete destruction of the adversaries of Christ at that time. In various sections of the defiles the men of Tarsus and the land of Cilicia were put to headlong flight by the commanders of the time who planned everything so well.

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<sup>1</sup>The word means a shortcut or, in general, a path.

<sup>2</sup>The first of these took place in 950. 'Ali left Aleppo in late summer with over thirty thousand troops. His army penetrated deeply into Asia Minor, forded the Halys River, and defeated a Byzantine army commanded by Bardas Phokas. On his return, encumbered by many prisoners and vast amounts of booty, he had to pass through narrow defiles. Lying in ambush, Leo Phokas allowed the vanguard to pass, then blocked the way with tree trunks and boulders. 'Ali was deserted by his men and barely escaped with his life, losing many soldiers and all the loot. The Arab poet Mutanabbi, who was present, has described the entire campaign. See Canard, *Hamdanides*, 763–68; "Mutanabbi et la guerre byzantino-arabe," *Mémoires de l'Institut Français de Damas* (Beirut, 1936), 99–114. The second defeat occurred in the fall of 958 at the hands of Byzantine forces commanded by John Tzimiskes: Canard, *Hamdanides*, 795. The third and most famous defeat was inflicted upon 'Ali in November 960 by Leo Phokas, who followed the tactics prescribed in this chapter very closely. It is described in some detail by Leo the Deacon, 2, 5; pp. 16–17; see Canard, *Hamdanides*, 801–3.

#### 4.

#### Making unexpected attacks on the enemy. Confronting the enemy as they are returning to their own country.

The general must make it one of his highest priorities and concerns to launch secret and unexpected attacks upon the enemy whenever possible. If he is successful in this sort of operation, with only a small group of men, he will put large numbers of the enemy to flight. If, as described above, he finds a place in the mountain passes which is suitable for fighting the enemy from both sides, he should attack without hesitation. With his troops in proper formation, and with God's help, he will force the enemy to turn to flight.

Still, instead of confronting the enemy as they are on their way to invade Romania, it is in many respects more advantageous and convenient to get them as they are returning from our country to their own. They will then be worn out and much

φουσι. τότε γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πολὺ χρονοτριβῆσαι αὐτοὺς ταῖς Ῥωμαϊ-  
 B f. 239 καῖς χώραις, μεγάλως συντριβόνται | καὶ ταλαιπωροῦνται. εἰ τύχῃ δέ  
 20 καὶ πλῆθος πραγμάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ἐπιφέρονται καὶ κτηνῶν, καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν κατάκοποι ὄντες, ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου  
 ἐκκελυμένοι εὐρίσκονται, σπεύδοντες καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες τάχιον τὴν  
 ἰδίαν καταλήψεσθαι χώραν. ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρα-  
 τεύματα ἐν τῇ τῶν ἡμερῶν παρατάσει οὐ μόνον τὰ πλησίον τῶν κλει-  
 H 193 σουρῶν τάχιον ἐπι|σворεύονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω τυγχάνοντα· καὶ  
 25 εἰς πλῆθος ἐπισυνίστανται ἱκανὸν καὶ καλῶς πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ ἐξαρ-  
 τύνονται καὶ παρασκευάζονται. καὶ τότε μᾶλλον, καθάπερ προέφη-  
 μεν, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ὁ κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμος ἀδίστακτον ἔχει  
 τὴν νίκην.

Διὸ χρὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν μηδέπω ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ καταλιμπά-  
 30 νειν. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξελεύσει τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευάζεσθαι προσυ-  
 παντῶν αὐτοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς στενώμασιν, ἀνεπιτηδειότερον  
 μὲν ἐστὶ, καὶ εἰς μάτην ἴσως τὸν κόπον συνέβη γίνεσθαι· διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 οὕτως συντόμως δι' ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν δύνασθαι τὸ πεζικὸν συναθροί-  
 σθῆναι στράτευμα καὶ καλῶς παρασκευασθῆναι. ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 35 πολέμιοι ἀκμῆτες ὄντες καὶ ἀπαρόπλιστοι δυσκαταγώνιστοι ἔσονται.  
 κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὠφέλιμον ἔχει καὶ χρήσιμον, καθὼ ἐμφόβους  
 αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ὡς ἂν βουλευθῶσιν ἐξελθεῖν, τῇ κατασχέσει τῶν  
 στενωμάτων, καὶ τὴν μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκκοπεῖν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν  
 θεμάτων συνεχῇ ἐξέλευσιν.

4: 12 συντάσσω B: τάσσω S || 21 ἐκκελυμένοι Hase: ἐκκελυμένου SB || 36 ἐμφόβους  
 Hase: ἐνφόβους SB || 38 ὀλίγον Hase: ὀλίγου SB

(ε'.)

Περὶ προκατασχέσεως ὑδάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς στενώμασιν ὄντων.

Ἐν οἷς δὲ τόποις τῶν στενωμάτων καὶ κλεισουργῶν πρὸς πόλεμον  
 ὁ στρατηγὸς παρασκευάζεται, εἴπερ ἐν τούτοις πηγὴ ἐστὶν ὕδωρ  
 5 βρύνουσα, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ ταύτην σπουδάσει κατασχεθῆναι, ὥστε  
 τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ὕδωρ τὸν λαὸν ἀπαρνεύσθαι. εἰ δὲ τύχῃ ὀλιγοστόν εἶναι,  
 S f. 284' σπουδάσει μὴ ἐπιθολοῦσθαι τοῦτο, | (ἐπεὶ) καὶ οὐ μικρὰ ὥς ἐκ τούτου  
 λυπεῖ τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐπισυμβῇσεται. πηγῆς δὲ ἐγγιστα μὴ  
 H 194 οὔσης ἐξ ἧς τὴν πόσιν καὶ ἀναψυχὴν ὁ λαὸς ἔφεν | ρίσκει, καὶ μάλ-  
 10 ιστα ἐν καιρῷ θέρους, ἀσκοὺς διορισάτω ἐν ἐκάστη ἐκατονταρχίᾳ  
 B f. 239' δέκα ἐπιφέρεισθαι, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ | κομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ

the worse for wear after having spent such a long time in the Roman lands. They are likely to be burdened with a lot of baggage, captives, and animals. The men and their horses will be so tired that they will fall apart in a battle. They will also be in a hurry and anxious to get back to their own country rather quickly. Delaying a few days, moreover, allows time for the Roman armies to be assembled, not only from the neighboring mountain passes but also from those farther away, and in sufficient numbers and with proper equipment to be well prepared for battle. Then is the time, as we have said, by either day or night, to fight them, and there is no doubt that we shall win.

The general, therefore, must never let them return home unscathed. Getting ready to encounter the enemy in battle in the defiles as they begin their invasion is less expeditious and can be very much of a wasted effort. For one thing, it is not possible to assemble the infantry units so quickly in a few days and to see that they are properly prepared. In addition, the enemy will then be fresh, well armed, and difficult to fight. But attacking them as they return has this advantage. It will instill in them the fear that each time they want to invade, we will occupy the passes, and after a while they may cut out their constant incursions into the Roman themes.

## 5.

Controlling the water in the passes ahead of time.

In those sections of the defiles and mountain passes in which the general is preparing for combat he should make sure that any spring of water flowing there should be occupied by his own men, so they can draw off the water from it. If there happens to be only a small amount flowing, he should make sure that it does not get muddied, which would cause serious harm to the men and place them in real difficulty. But if there is no spring in the vicinity to provide drink and refreshment for the troops, especially during the summer months, let him order each company to furnish ten bags and use them to carry water, so that during combat it may be dis-

τῆς μάχης εἰς πόσιν καὶ ἀναψυχὴν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐπιχορηγεῖσθαι.

- Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς στενώμασι μελλόντων πρὸς πόλεμον  
 15 ἐξαρτύεσθαι ἱκανῶς εἰρήσθω. εἰ δὲ καὶ νυκτοπόλεμον δεήσῃ ἐν ταῖς  
 τοιαύταις δυσχωρίαις γενέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο πάνν ὠφέλιμον. ἀλλὰ περὶ  
 μὲν τούτων ἐν ἑτέρῳ διηγήσῃ δηλώσω. τῆς δὲ παραδρομῆς ἄρξομαι  
 τὴν εἰσήγησιν, ἣτις ἐπωφελὴς καὶ ἀναγκαία τυγχάνουσα, δι' ὀλίγου  
 καὶ εὐαριθμήτου λαοῦ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμίων πλήθη ἀπρακτεῖν παρα-  
 20 σκευάζει, Θεοῦ δὲ νεύσει ὥς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καταγωνίζεται.

5: 7 ἐπεὶ De: καὶ SB: καὶ ὡς μὴ Hase || 19 ἀπρακτεῖν παρασκευάζει S: om. B

⟨ζ'·⟩

Περὶ παραδρομῆς τῶν μονοκούρσων καὶ στοχασμοῦ  
 τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ποσότητος.

- Τὰ τῶν πολεμίων κούρσα τὰ λεγόμενα μονόκουρσα ἀπὸ τῆς  
 5 ἰδίας χώρας ἐξερχόμενα, πεζῶν ἄνεν, ἔθος αὐτοῖς σπουδῇ τὴν πο-  
 ρείαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἀπληκεύοντας τὴν ὅλην νύκτα διαβι-  
 βάζειν· ἀλλὰ πρὸς μικρὸν τοὺς ἵππους διαναπαύειν, πρὸς τὸ τὰς  
 ταγὰς καὶ μόνον τούτοις ἐπιδοῦναι. ὥς ἐπίπαν γὰρ τὰ μονόκουρσα  
 μετ' ὀλιγοστοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτοῦ λαοῦ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν ποιοῦνται. σπεύ-  
 10 δουσιν δὲ τάχιστα καταλαβεῖν ἐν οἷς χωρίοις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν καὶ ἐκδρο-  
 μὴν ἐβουλεύσαντο ποιῆσαι.

- Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ παρὰ τε τῶν καμινοβιγλίων καὶ τῶν βιγλα-  
 τῶρων τὴν τούτων ἐξέλευσιν ἀναμανθάνοντος, σπουδῇ πολλῇ τὰ ἐν  
 H 195 ταῖς ἄκραις | καταλαμβανέτω χωρία, προαποστέλλων τουρμάρχη  
 15 εἴτε ἕτερον ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων καὶ χρησίμων μετὰ ἐκλεκτῶν  
 ἀρχόντων καὶ καλοῖππαράτων τοῦ προσνπαντήσῃ, καὶ μετὰ ἐμ-  
 πειρίας τούτους θεάσασθαι καὶ παραμεῖναι καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ κα-  
 ταμηνύειν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ κατέλαβον εἰ δυνατόν διασκοπεῖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 S f. 285 λαοῦ αὐτῶν ποσότητα. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς | θέας δυνατόν ἐστίν  
 20 ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ καταστοχάσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τούτων  
 ὀπλῆς. πλήθος γὰρ χόρτου ἐρημίαις ὑπάρχον καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἀλό-  
 γων καταπατούμενον, οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμπειρότατοι δύνανται ἐκ τού-  
 του τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ποσότητα, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῶς, καταστοχάσασθαι.  
 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ποταμῶν περάμασιν· ἀκριβέστερον δὲ  
 25 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τούτων ἀπλήκτων, ἡνίκα ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαίρουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ κούρσου τῶν πολεμίων ἄφιξιν ἀναμανθά-

tributed to the men engaged in the fighting for drink and refreshment.

Enough, however, has now been said about how to go about waging war in the passes. If it should be necessary to fight at night in such difficult terrain, this can be very useful. But I shall explain about that in another chapter. Now I shall begin our discussion on skirmishing. This should prove beneficial, even essential, inasmuch as it prepares a very small number of troops to disable a large multitude of the enemy and, for the most part, with God's favor, to overwhelm them.

## 6.

### Skirmishing tactics in single raids and estimating the number of men in one.

The type of enemy raid which we call a single raid sets out from their country without infantry. They usually ride along rapidly and keep going the whole night without camping anywhere, but make brief stops to rest their horses only in order to feed them. In general, these single raids start out with a very small but select body of troops. They make an effort to move most rapidly to the territory they want to raid.

When the general, therefore, learns from the road sentries and guards that they have started out he should move with all haste to the areas on the frontier. He should send ahead a turmarch or another officer, a very experienced and competent man, with some selected junior officers and good horses.<sup>1</sup> They should catch up with the enemy, keep a close and experienced eye on them, follow them along, and report back to the general if it is possible in the place they have reached to observe the number of soldiers in the party. It is not only by visual observation that one can estimate the numerical strength of the enemy. First, there are the hoofprints of the horses. For when there is a large amount of grass in a deserted area and if it is all trampled down by the horses' feet, experienced scouts can form an approximate estimate from this of the quantity of troops. In like manner, one can examine the ground at river crossings. A more precise estimate can be formed from the enemy's camp after they have vacated it.

When the general learns of the approach of an enemy raid and figures out



B f. 240 νων, καὶ τῶν | χωρίων ἐν οἷς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ποιήσασθαι μέλλουσι  
στοχασάμενος, πλησίον τούτων γινέσθω. καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω τόπῳ  
30 ταχοῦ ἀποστείλας, ἥνικα περὶ αὐτῶν καταμνηνθείη, καὶ θεαθῶσιν  
ἐξελαύνοντες καὶ διασκορπιζόμενοι, ἐξέλθῃ εἰς τὸ σκόρπισμα, καὶ  
τούτοις ἐντυγχάνων ἀπόνως αὐτοὺς καταγωνίσεται. εἰ δὲ συμβῇ τινὰς  
τῶν χωριτῶν κρατηθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἐξελάσαι, καὶ ἀνα-  
μαθεῖν τὴν τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρουσίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ἐκσπή-  
35 λευσιν, καὶ οὐ θαρρήσουσιν ἐξελάσαι, ἄπρακτοι σπουδαίως πρὸς τὴν  
ιδίαν ὑποστρέψουσιν χώραν, μόνον τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν συντριβὴν καὶ  
ταλαιπωρίαν ὑποστάντες. |

6: 36 κόπον B: σκόπον S

H 196

(ζ'.)

Περὶ συναθροίσεως καὶ κινήσεως φοσσάτου, καὶ περὶ  
τοῦ παραχωρεῖν τοὺς πραγματευτὰς εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ κατασκοπεῖν.

Παρασκευὴν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν μεγάλου φοσσάτου ἀκούων, ἐν ᾧ  
5 καιρῷ μάλιστα εἴθωι τὰ μεγάλα συναθροίζεσθαι φοσσάτα, ἤγουν  
τῷ Αὐγουστῷ μηνί. ἐν γὰρ τῷ τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ἀπὸ τε Αἰγύπτου, Παλαι-  
στίνης τε καὶ Φοινίκης, καὶ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας, πλήθη ἀνῆρχοντο ἐν  
Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις Ἀντιοχείας, τοῦ Χάλεπε, καὶ προσλαμ-  
βάνοντες καὶ Ἄραβας τῷ Σεπτεμβρίῳ μηνὶ τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπι-  
10 οιοῦντο ἐξέλευσιν. ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τοῖνον καιρῷ, ὅτε ἡ συνάθροις τοῦ  
φοσσάτου τῶν πολεμίων μέλλει γίνεσθαι, συνεχέστερον τοὺς τρα-  
πεζίτας ἀποστέλλειν ἥτοι τὰ τασινάκια, καὶ κατασκόπους πλείστους  
τῶν χρησίμων καὶ πιστῶν.

Παραχωρεῖν δὲ καὶ πραγματευτὰς εἰσέρχεσθαι· προσποιεῖσθαι  
S f. 285<sup>v</sup> 15 δὲ καὶ φιλίαν | πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀμηνάδας τῶν ταῖς ἄκραις ἡμῶν  
παρακειμένων κάστρων, καὶ γράφειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀνθρώπους  
μετὰ κανισκίων ἀποστέλλειν, ὅπως διὰ τῆς πολυειδοῦς ταύτης πολυ-  
πραγμοσύνης δυνηθῇ σαφῶς ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων βου-  
λὰς καὶ μελέτας, καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐπισωρευομένων φοσσάτων ἱπ-  
20 πέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἀρχηγούς, καὶ ἐν ποίαις χώραις  
τὴν ἐπέλευσιν ποιεῖν βούλονται.

Καταμνηνόμενος δὲ τὴν τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀποκίνησιν, καὶ διὰ  
ποίας ὁδοῦ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν κατὰ Ῥωμανίας ποιεῖσθαι μέλλει, ἐπι-  
B f. 240<sup>v</sup> συνάγειν | ἅπαντα τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄκρας παραγί-

which regions they intend to invade, then he should move closer to them. Finding a good location to conceal himself and his men, he should send out mounted scouts in all directions. When he has obtained information about them and they have been observed riding out and scattering all over, then, while they are disorganized, he should march out after them, and he should have no difficulty in defeating them. If the enemy happen to have captured some of the local inhabitants before beginning their raid and they find out that the general is in the vicinity and has the area well scouted, they will not even dare to ride out, but without having accomplished anything and having gained only toil, wear and tear, and misery, they will beat a hasty retreat back to their own country.

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<sup>1</sup>The *turnmarch*, who commanded a *turma*, three of which generally formed a *theme*, was next in rank after the general. He usually had civil as well as military authority in his section of the *theme*. He was often of a noble or wealthy family and held the dignity of *protospatharios*.

## 7.

The assembling and movement of the army. Making use of merchants to go out and spy.

The general should be on the alert for news about the equipping and movement of a large army, especially at that time of the year when one expects large armies to be assembled, usually in August. In that month large numbers would come from Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and southern Syria to Cilicia, to the country around Antioch, and to Aleppo, and adding some Arabs to their force, they would invade Roman territory in September.<sup>1</sup> In this period when the enemy are beginning to assemble their army, the general ought to send out *trapezites*, also called *tasinakia*,<sup>2</sup> more frequently and a good number of competent and trustworthy scouts.

He ought also to have the businessmen go out.<sup>3</sup> He should pretend to make friends with the emirs who control the castles in the border regions. He should also write to them and send out men with gift baskets. As a result, with all this coming and going, the general might be able to get a clear picture of the plans and intentions of the enemy. He should find out how many men make up their army, how many horse and how many foot; he should find out about their commanders and the area in which they plan to make their attack.

After receiving the report that the army has moved out and knowing their projected invasion route into Romania, then he should assemble his whole army and

H 197 25 νεσθαι, ἀποστέλλειν δὲ τουρμάρχην ἐμπειρότατον εἴτε ἕτερόν | τινὰ  
τῶν μεγάλων καὶ χρησίμων ἀρχόντων μετὰ ἱππέων ἐπιλέκτων προσ-  
υπαντήσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πρὸ τοῦ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς τὰς ἡμῶν χώρας  
ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐπακολουθῶσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ παραμένωσι, καὶ τὰς  
ἀποκινήσεις αὐτῶν τῷ στρατηγῷ καταμηνύωσιν.

7: 14 προσποιεῖσθαι S: om. B || 18 τὰς Hase: τὰ SB

⟨η' .⟩

Περὶ παραμονῆς φορσάτου καὶ ἀκολουθήσεως.

Ἡ παραμονὴ αὐτῶν οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι. τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
μετὰ παντός τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖν καὶ ὀχυρῷ τόπῳ παρατρέχοντος,  
5 καὶ τῶν χωρίων διὰ τῶν ἐκσπηλατόρων φυγαδευομένων ἐν τοῖς κά-  
στροις ἢ, μὴ ὄντων κάστρων, ἐν ὄρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ ὀχυρωτάτοις καὶ  
ἀνεπιβουλεύτοις, ὁμοίως καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, δέον ἀποστέλ-  
λειν καὶ τὸν ὀφείλοντα παραμένειν ἀπὸ δευτέρας ὥρας ἢ καὶ τρίτης  
(τῆς) ἡμέρας. καὶ εὐχὴν λαμβάνοντα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ἀναλαμβάνε-  
10 σθαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ συρτὰ, καὶ ὀρμᾶν πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν καθ' ἣν οἱ  
πολέμιοι διέρχονται, τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς παριππαράτους  
καταλιμπάνων μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιφερομένους ἢ  
μῖα ἡμέρας τροφήν καὶ αὐτὴν μετὰ ἐνδεΐας ἄρτους μόνους καὶ τυρόν  
ἢ καὶ τάριχα καὶ τὰς τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἡμιόνων ταγάς.

15 Εἰς χωρίον δὲ ἀπληκεῦν τὰς (τε) χρεΐας καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων  
τροφὴν ἐφευρίσκων, διαναπαυσάτω ἐκεῖσε τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἵπ-  
πον ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης | τῆς ἡμέρας, βίγλας κρατῶν ἐν ὑψηλοτέροις |  
S f. 286 H 198 τόποις. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀρχηγός ἐν περιωπῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ  
ἀνερχόμενος ἀποσκοπεῖν (ὀφείλει) καὶ βλέπειν κονιορτοὺς τῶν πολε-  
20 μίων καὶ καπνοὺς, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτου κατανοεῖν καὶ στοχάζεσθαι ἐν οἷς  
διέρχονται καὶ ἀπληκεῦσαι μέλλουσιν. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐμπείρων ἀνδρῶν  
καὶ οἱ τόποι ἐφ' οἷς προσήκει ἄπληκτα γίνεσθαι διαγινώσκονται.

Ἦνικά δὲ αἰσθῶνται τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ ἠῦλίσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι, πα-  
ραυτικά δηλοῦσι τῷ στρατηγῷ περὶ τούτου. κάκεινος μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου  
25 στρατοῦ θώρακας ἀμπεχομένων καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπανωκλίβανα μὴ  
λευκὰ ὄντα, ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἕκαστος τὸ μεταχειριζόμενον ὄπλον κατέχων,  
τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιεῖτω. τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου ὑποκλινάμενος, καὶ τῶν εἰς λείαν  
ἐκ τοῦ φορσάτου ἐξερχομένων πολεμίων ὑποστρεφόντων πρὸς τὰς  
σκηναὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ φοῦλκα τὰ τούτους φυλάττοντα, τότε συνεισέρ-  
30 χεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ πλησιάζειν τῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φορσάτῳ. μετὰ

march toward the border. He should send out a very experienced turmarch or another high-ranking, competent officer, along with picked horsemen, to intercept the enemy before they penetrate our territory. They should follow along, keeping up with them, and report their movements to the general.

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<sup>1</sup>See M. Canard, "Byzantium and the Muslim World," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 1, p. 697; H. Ahrweiler, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes," *Revue historique*, 227, 1 (1962), 1-32; repr. in *Etudes administratives*, ix. Raiding parties might also set out in May or July.

<sup>2</sup>See *supra*, Chap. 2, note 3. *Tasinakia* must be another form of *tasinarioi*.

<sup>3</sup>See M. Canard, "Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 33-56.

## 8.

### Shadowing and following an army.

Shadowing the enemy should be done in the following manner. The general with all his troops should ride off to a good, strong location. The *expilatores* should get the inhabitants of the area with their animals to take refuge in the fortified towns or, if there are none, in very strong and secure positions high up in the mountains. About the second or third hour of the day he should send out the people who are to do the shadowing. On receiving his orders from the general,<sup>1</sup> the commander should gather his troops together, along with the spare horses, and ride quickly to the road along which the enemy are marching. Their baggage and the grooms for the horses should be left behind with the general. The only supplies they should bring with them are food for one day, not too much of that, only bread and cheese, or some dried meat, and fodder for the horses and mules.

When they encamp in a village and find what they need, as well as fodder for the horses, then the commander should have his men and horses relax there until the ninth hour of the day while watch posts are set up in higher locations. The commander of the unit ought to go into a watch post high up and personally observe and look for clouds of dust raised by the enemy and smoke. From these signs he should be able to form an estimate of their route of march and where they are likely to camp. Experienced men should be able to pick out suitable camping sites.

When they find the place in which the enemy have set up camp, they should immediately inform the general. He, in turn, should set out on the road with the army under his command, and over their armor they should wear the sort of surcoat we call *epanoklibana* of a dark color,<sup>2</sup> and each man should carry his weapons in his hands. After sunset, when the enemy who had left the camp for raiding are returning to their tents and the groups guarding them are posted, then they should advance and move closely to the enemy camp. They should march with deliberation and

- σκοποῦ δὲ ὁδοιπορεῖτω καὶ προσοχῆς ἀκριβοῦς καὶ λαθραίως, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποκρυπτέτω τοῦ μὴ θεαθῆναι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. νυκτὸς (δ') ἤδη καταλαμβανούσης, πλησίον γενέσθω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔστι βουνὸς ὑψηλὸς ἐν ᾧ ἠϋλίσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐξ ἑνὸς μέρους ἢ καὶ
- 35 ἐκ δύο πλησίον τοῦ ἀπλήκτου αὐτῶν ἀπόνως τὴν παραμονὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ φυλάξουσιν. ἀποβάντες γὰρ τῶν ἵππων καὶ πεζῇ ἐν τῷ βουνῷ ἀνερχόμενοι ἄνδρες δύο τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἢ καὶ τρεῖς, καὶ πλησιάζοντες τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ὀχυρωτάτων βουνῶν τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἀνοδοῦν εὐχερῇ παρέχειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὅρᾱν τὸ
- V f. 245 40 φοσσάτον καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐνωτίζεσθαι, | καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἵππων |  
H 199 καὶ ἡμιόνων χρεμετισμούς. ἀποστέλλειν δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τέσσαρα τετράδια ἵστασθαι ἐφίππους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνθεν ἀκεῖθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διακεχωρισμένα, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀκούειν τοὺς χρεμετισμούς τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ὀχλαγωγίαν.
- 45 Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τόπῳ τοιοῦτος ὀχυρώτατος βουνὸς οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ ὡσαύτως τέσσαρα τετράδια ἀποστέλλεσθαι, τοῦ ἐνθεν ἀκεῖθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου ἡσυχῶς ἵστασθαι, καὶ σύσσημα παρέχειν ἀλλήλοις σημαντικὰ ὑποχωρήσεως, εἴγε δεήσοι, εἴτε διὰ συρισμοῦ, εἴτε διὰ λόγου καὶ ἐπιλαλιᾶς. ὑπαλλάττεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς παρ' ἐτέρων,
- 50 εἴτε δευτέρον τῇ νυκτί, ἢ καὶ ἅπαξ, πρὸς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν διαναπαύεσθαι. ἀπέρχεσθαι δὲ τὸν τουρμάρχη, εἴτε ἕτερά τις κεφαλὴ, εἰς τὴν τούτων ὑπαλλαγὴν, καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν ποῦ καὶ πῶς ἵστανται, καὶ τοὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνων πάλιν καλῶς ἐφιστῶν ὑποστρέφειν ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἵστατο πρότερον. ταραχῆς δὲ ἐξακουομένης κίνησιν
- 55 δηλούσης τοῦ κούρσου, τὰ τέσσαρα τετράδια μικρὸν ἀναποδιζέτωσαν, μὴ μέντοι δὲ μακρόθεν γινέσθωσαν, τῷ δὲ τουρμάρχει μηννέτωσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκίνησιν. αὐτὸς δὲ μηννέτω τῷ στρατηγῷ δι' οἷας ὁδοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἐν οἷα ὥρα, ἵνα τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἀποκινήσεως αὐτῶν ἀναμανθάνων ὁ στρατηγὸς δύνῃται
- 60 στοχάσασθαι ἐν οἷοις χωρίοις καταλάβωσιν ἄχρι πρωῒας. οἱ δὲ ἀποστελλόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ τουρμάρχου καταμηνύσαι τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἠϋλίζετο τὴν τοῦ κούρσου ἀποκί|νησιν. ἐπ' αὐτῷ (δ') οὐχ εὐρήσωσιν ἐκεῖσε αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ὑποδοχαρίους τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντας, δέον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ γενομένους φωνῆσαι· τοὺς δὲ
- 65 ὑποδοχαρίους ἀκριβῶς διασκοπομένους, ἡνίκα τῆς φωνῆς αἰσθωνται, ἐνωθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τάχους τῷ στρατηγῷ τούτους προσάξει, εἴτε εἰς ἑτέρους πάλιν ἀγαγεῖν ὑποδοχαρίους, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἵσως πάλιν μετακινήσαντος. χρή γὰρ αὐτόν, εἴτε ἅπαξ εἴτε καὶ δις ἐν νυκτί μεταπληκεῖν διὰ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνε-
- 70 δρευθῆναι, ἔχειν δὲ αὐτόν καὶ βίγλας διπλᾶς εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλεῖς.

Careful attention and stealthily. The commander should keep in hiding, so he will not be observed by the enemy. After nightfall he should move closer to the encampment. If the enemy have made their camp on a high mountain, they should be able to keep them under surveillance in that place without any difficulty, from either one or two areas near their camp. Two or three men should get off their horses, ascend the mountain on foot, and move close to the camp. From those high and very secure positions on the mountain to which the enemy have no easy access, they should observe the army, listen to the voices of the troops, hear the neighing of the horses and mules. They should also send out another four units of four mounted men each who should station themselves here and there around the camp at a distance from one another, so they too can listen to the neighing of the horses and mules and the murmuring of the troops.

But if in the vicinity of the camp there is no such secure mountain, still, in the same way, send out the four four-man units to station themselves silently here and there around the camp. They can give each other special signals, either by whistling or by a spoken command, if it becomes necessary to withdraw. They should be relieved by other troops twice or at least once a night, so they and their horses can get some rest. At the time of this relief a turmarch or some other high-ranking officer should inspect the location and operation of the post, and after having properly installed the new men in place of the others, he should return to his previous post. On hearing the noises which indicate that a raid is beginning, the four units of four should withdraw a little, but not too far away. They should report to the turmarch that the enemy are moving out. He should then let the general know what road they have taken and at what time. If he finds out the precise time of their departure, the general should be able to guess how far they will have gotten by morning. The men dispatched by the turmarch should inform the general in his encampment of the departure of the raiding party. But in case they should not find him there, but only the camp guards left behind by him, they should call out on arriving. On hearing the shouting the guards will examine them closely, join them, and lead them quickly to the general or to yet other camp guards in case the general has moved again. For he should, once or even twice a night, change the location of his camp for the sake of good security, so they might not be ambushed by the enemy. He should have two sets of watch posts to assure his protection.

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<sup>1</sup>*Euche* usually means "prayer" or "wish," but is here used in the sense of "orders," "command," equivalent to *prostaxis*, as in *Campaign Organization and Tactics*, 19, 32.

<sup>2</sup>*Epanoklibana* or *epilorika*, both of which mean "on top of armor," were large surcoats or cloak-like garments worn over one's armor to cut down glare from the polished metal and to serve as a protection against the elements: Leo, *Tactical Constitutions*, V, 3; VI, 4.

8: 9 τῆς Hase: om. SB || λαμβάνοντα conj. Hase: λαμβάνοντας SB || 10 τὰ συντά De: τοὺς παρασυντάτους SB || 15 τε Hase: om. SB || τὴν S: τὴν ἵππον B || 19 ὀφείλει Hase: om. SB || 25 ἐπανωκλίβανα des. B || 32 δ' Hase: om. S || 44 καὶ ἡμίονων inc. V || 47 σύστημα V: σύνστημα S || 62 δ' Hase: om. VS || 65 ὑποδοχαρίους Hase: ὑπὸ ὑποδοχαρίους VS || 68 μετακινήσαντος Hase: μὴ κινήσαντος VS

(θ'.)

Περὶ τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ κούρσου καὶ ἀκολουθήσεως.

- Τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοίνυν τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ κούρσου ἀναμανθάνον-  
 5 τος, παραυτικά καὶ ἕτερον ἄρχοντα μεθ' ἵππέων ἐκλεκτῶν ὑποτασ-  
 V f. 245<sup>v</sup> σόμενον τῷ τουρμάρχει τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι τῷ κούρσῳ ἀποστέλλειν |  
 πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἀποστελλόμενος ἓνα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ  
 τουρμάρχου πεμφθέντων, καταμηνύσαι τὴν τοῦ κούρσου κίνησιν τῷ  
 στρατηγῷ, τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὀδηγηθῆναι εἰς τὸ εὐχερῶς ἐνωθῆναι. καὶ  
 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἀποστελλομένου ἄρχοντος ἀπο-  
 10 κινήσάτω μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαοῦ, καὶ σπενσάτω καταλαβεῖν τὸν  
 τουρμάρχην, ὅπως ὀπισθεν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ τουρμάρχου τῷ κούρσῳ τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἀκολουθῇ. ἡ γὰρ ἀκριβὴς καὶ ἄπταιστος ἀκολούθησις ἐκ  
 τῶν ὀπισθεν τῶν πολεμίων ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, κατὰ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐνιχνα  
 καὶ τὴν ὁδοίπο | ρίαν.  
 H 201  
 15 Ὁ δὲ τουρμάρχης ἡνίκα τὸ κούρσον τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκινήσῃ  
 τρία ζευκτά, ἐμπίρους καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖους ἄνδρας ἀναλαμβανόμενος,  
 παραγινέσθω τῇ ὁδῷ τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ τυπώσας τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύ-  
 τερον καὶ τρίτον ζευκτὸν πῶς ὀφείλουσι περιπατεῖν καὶ τοῖς πολε-  
 μίοις κατακολουθεῖν, ὑποστρεφέσθω πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ  
 20 πρῶτον ζευκτὸν πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων περιπατεῖτω, ἀκοῦον καὶ τὴν  
 τοῦ λαοῦ ὀχλαγωγίαν καὶ τοὺς χρεμετισμοὺς τῶν ἵππων. τὸ δὲ δεύ-  
 τερον, τὸ τοῦ πρῶτου ἀκόλουθον, ὁδοιπορεῖτω ὅσον δύνανται ὁρᾶν τὸ  
 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ μήτε πλησίον γίνε-  
 σθαι, μήτε μακρύνεσθαι, ὥστε μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι.  
 25 Τρία δὲ τετράδια ὀπισθεν τῶν τριῶν ζευκτῶν ἀποκαταστήσει,  
 ὁρᾶν τὸ πρῶτον τετράδιον τὸ τρίτον ζευκτὸν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τετράδιον  
 ὡσαύτως ὁρᾶν τὸ πρῶτον. τὸ δὲ τρίτον τετράδιον, τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ  
 δευτέρου, ἐξ ἐχέτω ἄνδρας, ἵνα οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο τὰ ὑπὸ ζευκτοῦ μηνυό-  
 30 μενα ἀποκομίζωσι τῷ τουρμάρχει, ὁ δὲ τουρμάρχης τῷ στρατηγῷ.  
 εἴαν γὰρ ὀξύτερον βαδίζωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὀφείλει μηνύειν τὸ πρῶτον  
 ζευκτὸν περὶ τούτου, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τουρμάρχης καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὀξύτερον  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ βαδίζωσι, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ μακρύνωσι τῶν πολεμίων. εἰ δὲ  
 σχολαιώτερον πάλιν βαδίζουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ὁ τουρμάρχης καὶ ὁ

## 9.

## Movement of raiding parties and following them.

Upon learning that a raiding party has begun to move, the general should immediately send out another officer with some selected cavalrymen, assigning him to the turmarch who is following the raiding party. This junior officer should be accompanied by one of the men who had been sent by the turmarch to inform the general of the raiding party's movement. This man should serve as a guide so he can reach the turmarch more quickly. The general himself, together with his troops, should march out behind the officer he is sending and make haste to catch up with the turmarch. He should then stay behind the turmarch who is following the enemy raiding party. This following behind the enemy ought to be carried out with precision and without deviation, adhering to their tracks and line of march.

When the enemy raiding party moves out, the turmarch should pick out three teams of experienced and competent men and with them proceed to the road used by the enemy. He should give instructions to the first, second, and third teams about how they are to proceed along and follow after the enemy, then return to his own troops. The first team should march close enough to the enemy so that they hear the murmuring of men and the neighing of the horses. The second should follow along at a distance at which it can see the first team ahead of it and also be seen by it. They should get no closer than that and not get far enough away to be out of sight.

Three units of four men each should then be organized behind the three teams just mentioned. The first of these should remain in sight of the third team, the second unit of four in sight of the first. The third unit, the one following the second, should have six men, so that two of them may relay to the turmarch the information uncovered by the teams. The turmarch may then report it to the general. If the enemy should quicken their pace, the first team ought to pass on this information, so that the turmarch and the general may quicken their own pace and not fall too far behind the enemy. If, on the other hand, the enemy should slow their march, the



στρατηγὸς ὡσαύτως σχολαιότερον περιπατεῖτωσαν, ἵνα μήτε πλησίον γινόμενοι διαγινώσκωνται, μήτε μακρυνόμενοι οὔτε τὴν τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων διοίκησιν ἐπιγινώσκωσιν, οὔτε παρ' ἐκείνων ἐπιγινώσκωνται, ὅπερ | οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπάγει βλάβην·|

Ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπληκευόντων πρὸς τὸ ταγίσαι τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ περὶ τούτου καταμηνυόμενος ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ τόπῳ ἀπληκευέτω πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἵππους ταγίσαι, ἐξώβιγλα ἀποστέλλων εἰς φυλακὴν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ ἡνίκα πάλιν τὴν κίνησιν τῶν πολεμίων καταμηνυθῇ, παραντικά καὶ αὐτὸς κινήσει ἐπακολουθῶν, ἐνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἑαυτοῦ ἀποστέλλων ἀνὰ τριάκοντα ἱππεῖς, μὴ πόρρω, ἀλλὰ σύνεγγυς, τὰς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ φωνὰς ἐνωτιζομένους. καὶ ὅπῃθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπακολουθοῦντα ἄρχοντα ἐχέτω μεθ' ἱππέων, οὓς δὴ σάκα ὀνομάζουσι. μήκοθεν δὲ ὁδοιπορεῖτω ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ πᾶσαν ποιεῖτω ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ μὴ διαγνωσθῆναι ὡς ὀπισθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀσφαλῶς μὲν περιπατεῖν καὶ τοὺς πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἀκολουθούντας παραγγέλλειν τοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἀποσκοπεῖν, μὴ λόχους τινὰς οἱ πολέμιοι καταλείψωσιν εἰς ἐνεδραν τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὅπερ παρὰ τῶν Ταρσιτῶν πολλάκις γέγονε. καὶ ἐπακολουθούντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ τουρμάρχου, καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν σκοποῦντος ῥύακας καὶ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς δυναμένους λαὸν ἀποκρύπτειν, ἀπροόπτως τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ τούτων περιπεπτῶκασιν. διὰ ταῦτα πολλῆς δέεται ἀγχινοῖας καὶ ἀκριβείας ὁ ἐπακολουθῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοιοῦτόν τι συμβῇ γενέσθαι.

Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ διαυγᾶσαι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγόν, ἐπεὶ διέγνω τὸ ἐν ποίοις τόποις καὶ χωρίοις ἐξελάσαι μέλλουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, εἴτε δεξιὰ εἴτε εὐώνυμα αὐτῶν ἐπικλίνειν, ἐν οἷς ὀχυρώτερος αὐτῷ τόπος καθοράται. καὶ ὀξύτερον βαδίσας καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτῶν γενόμενος ὡς | ἀπὸ μιλίων δύο πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς λέλεκται, διαυγᾶσαι, ἵνα μὴ τὸν κονιορτὸν θεασάμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπιγνώσωσι, τὸν δὲ ὀχυρὸν τόπον ὁ στρατηγός καταλαμβάνων τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκρυψάτω λαόν. κἀκεῖνος μετ' ὀλίγων ἱππέων πλησιέστερον γενέσθω τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ εἰς ὑψηλὴν περιωπὴν ἀνερχόμενος καθαρῶς ὁρᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους σπενυσάτω. καὶ τούτων εἰς ἐξέλευσιν ὁρμώντων καὶ διασκορπιζομένων πρὸς λείαν, καρτερησάτω ὁ στρατηγός ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἄχρι τρίτης ἢ καὶ τετάρτης (ῥας) τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὴν παρατάξιν τοῦ Ἀμηνῶ θεωρῶν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ στοχαζόμενος. ἐπεὶ (δ') οἱ μέλλοντες ἐξελάσαι πόρρω πού τῆς παρατάξεως | τοῦ Ἀμηνῶ γεγονῶσιν, ὡς μὴ δυνατόν ἐστι πάλιν τούτους ὑποστρέφειν ἢ ἐπιγνῶναι τὸν κατὰ τῆς παρατάξεως τοῦ Ἀμηνῶ ἀναφθέντα πόλεμον, ἕκαστον σπεύδοντα τὰ χωρία καταλαβεῖν, καὶ λείαν ὅτι πλείστην πορίσασθαι τὰς ἰδίας παραταγὰς ὡς δεῖ εὐτρεπίσας, κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Ἀμηνῶ παρατάξεως ὀλιγανδρούσης τὴν ἐπέλευσιν

turmarch and the general should likewise slow down in their own marching. Otherwise, they may get too close and be detected. They should not fall so far behind that they can no longer observe the operation of the units following the enemy or no longer be observed by them, which can cause serious problems.

It is very important that the general be informed when the enemy make camp in order to feed their horses. Let him then find a good location to set up camp and feed his own horses. He should establish guard posts out a bit to protect himself. When he is informed that the enemy have begun to move again, he should immediately set out to follow. He should send about thirty horsemen here and there around him, not far, but fairly close, within hearing distance of his troops. To his rear there should follow an officer with cavalymen, a unit they call a *saka*.<sup>1</sup> Let the general ride along at a distance and take every precaution to avoid being discovered following behind. He should proceed very cautiously and should order the units following the enemy more closely to keep a sharp eye out in case the enemy have left some detachments behind to ambush the men following them as well as the general himself. This has been done often by the men of Tarsus. When the turmarch was following them and was not carefully looking out for streams up ahead and for places capable of concealing troops, he unexpectedly fell right into an ambush. This means that the units following must be very shrewd and careful to keep anything of this sort from happening.

The general should have figured out the places and villages which the enemy plan to attack. Before dawn, then, he should angle out to either the right or the left of them, whichever appears to him as providing safer ground. Quickening his pace, he should move out from their flank about two miles. As mentioned, this should be done before daybreak, so the enemy will not see the clouds of dust and become aware of the general's presence. On reaching safe ground, the general should conceal his troops. With a few horsemen, let him draw more closely to the enemy. He should mount a high vantage point and hasten to get a good look at them. As they move out for attack and scatter for plunder, the general should remain in that spot until the third or fourth hour of the day. He should study the battle formation of the emir and form a careful estimate of the number of his men.<sup>2</sup> When the troops going out to raid have gotten far enough away from the emir's battle formation so they cannot retreat to it again or so they will not even be aware of an attack upon the formation, since each man will be rushing to get to the villages and gather as much booty as possible, then the general should set his own battle line in proper order and launch his attack against that of the emir, now undermanned, and with the aid of

ποιησάτω, καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ τῆς νίκης κρατήσῃ, (καὶ) τελείαν πανο-  
λεθρίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐργάσεται.

Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐπελθεῖν οὐ θαρρήσῃ, πολλὴν καὶ  
ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν ὁρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰδίαν. τότε ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ  
80 μακρόθεν διὰ κρυπτῆς καὶ ἐπιτηδείας ὁδοῦ ὁρμάτω σὺν ἐλασίᾳ τῇ  
προσηκούσῃ καταλαβεῖν τὸ σκόρπισμα τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ  
δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίσεται διεσκεδασμένοις  
οὔσι καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἔργον, Θεοῦ συμμαχία, ἐπιτελέσει. ὀφείλει οὖν  
καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν χρησίμων μετὰ ὀλιγοστών ἱππέων ὀπισθεν ἔχειν,  
H 204 85 βλέποντα | καὶ ἀποσκοποῦντα τὴν τοῦ Ἀμνηρᾶ παράταξιν, καὶ τὰ  
περὶ αὐτῆς ὡς ἂν ὁδοιπορεῖ καταμνηνύειν αὐτῷ.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ φούλκον, τὸ εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν διασκορπιζομένων πρὸς  
λείαν πολεμίων ὑπάρχον, συναντήσῃ ὁ στρατηγὸς πλῆθος ἔχον,  
διχῇ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ διέλῃ, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν μὲν ἀποστείλῃ τοὺς ὀφεί-  
90 λοντας μετὰ τοῦ φούλκου συνάψαι πόλεμον. τούτων δὲ συρραγέντων  
εὐθύς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς μετὰ τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτοῦ πλησίον ἐπακο-  
λουθῶν ὁξέως καὶ εὐτόλμως μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ σὺν ἐλα-  
σίᾳ κατ' αὐτῶν ὁρμησάτω, καὶ τούτους, Θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ, τροπωσά-  
μενος καταδιώξει καὶ τελείως καταγωνίσεται.

95 Εἰ οὖν Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ εὐδοκῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τοὺς εἰς λείαν  
ἐκδραμόντας πολεμίους κατατροπώσεται, εἰ μὲν μεγάλην καὶ ἀξιό-  
λογον δουλείαν ἐργάσεται, εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν  
χώραν ὑποστρέψαι μετ' αἰσχύνης. εἰ δὲ ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χρονίσαι  
μελετῶσι, τὸν ἴδιον λαὸν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀναλαβόμενος μήκοθεν γενέ-  
100 σθω τῶν πολεμίων, ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις δηλονότι χωρίοις, καὶ τὸν λαὸν  
αὐτοῦ κατάκοπον ὄντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς διαναπαυσάτω μόνους τοὺς  
παραμένειν ὀφείλοντας, ὡς ἤδη ἐξεθέμεθα ἀποστέλλων ἐκάστη  
ἡμέρᾳ. πρὸς ὑποστροφὴν δὲ ὁρμώντας τούτους ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγνούς,  
παραντικά τάχει πολλῷ ἄρχοντα τῶν χρησίμων ἀποστείλας, τὸ πεζι-  
V f. 247 105 κὸν στρά | τευμα εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν ὁδῶν ἐπισωρευσάτω· καὶ  
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς σπενσάτω, (μὴ) ἐν νυκτὶ μηδὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑαυτὸν  
ποσῶς ἀναπαῦσαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν τάχει πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν γενέ-  
σθω, καὶ καλῶς παρασκευάσας ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων αὐτοῦ  
H 205 στράτευμα, τὸν κατ' | αὐτῶν πόλεμον διάθοιτο, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω ἐπὶ  
110 λεπτῷ ἐξεθέμεθα. καὶ οὕτως ποιῶν, χάριτι Χριστοῦ, καὶ δυνάμει καὶ  
πρεσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου αὐτοῦ μητρὸς, τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
μάχης κρατήσῃ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως.

9: 5 κούρσῳ Hase: κούρσῳρι VS || 6 αὐτόν V: ἐάντον S || 11 κούρσῳ Hase: κούρσῳρι VS || 30  
μνηνύειν Hase: μνηνύει VS || 42 καταμνηνυθῇ V: καταμνηνυθείη S || 67 καρτερησάτω Hase: κα-  
τερησάτω VS || 68 ὥρας Hase: om. VS || 70 δ' Hase: om. VS || 76 θεοῦ Hase: εἰς θεοῦ VS || καί<sup>2</sup> Hase:  
om. VS || 88 πολεμίων Hase: πολεμίαν VS || 99 γενέσθω Hase: γενέσθαι VS || 102 ἀποστέλλων  
Hase: ἀποστέλλεσθαι VS || 106 μὴ Hase: om. VS || 110 ποιῶν Hase: ποιούντος VS

God he will be victorious and bring about the complete and utter destruction of the enemy.

If he does not feel confident enough to attack the battle line directly, inasmuch as he notices that it is very strong, significantly stronger than his own, then he should move off at a distance to the side by a good, but secret, road and with due speed reach the enemy soldiers who are dispersed about. During the whole day he should charge in upon them and fight them, as they are scattered all around and, with God on his side, he will accomplish memorable deeds. He should leave a capable officer with a few horsemen behind to keep an eye on the battle formation of the emir and to report back to him whatever he observes there, such as if it sets out on the road.

If the general should meet up with a large *foulkon* assigned to protect the enemy as they are scattered about for plundering,<sup>3</sup> he should divide his own force in two, sending on ahead one group to attack the *foulkon*. After they have joined battle, the general, following closely with his own battle line, should immediately charge into the foe with great speed and spirit, shouts, and battle cries. With the help of God, he will turn them back, pursue them, and utterly defeat them.

If, therefore, with the assistance of God, the general is successful, he will overthrow the enemy who have ridden out to plunder. After he has performed such a great and noteworthy service, it is likely that the enemy will ignominiously retreat to their own country. But if they should still be thinking of spending time in our territory, the general should then assemble his own troops, move a distance from the enemy to a suitable site, and there let his weary men rest for three days. Each day he should sent out only those who, as we described above, are to shadow the enemy. When the general finds out that the enemy are beginning to retreat, he should immediately and in great haste dispatch a capable officer to mass the infantry along the difficult sections of the road. He too should hurry, allowing himself no rest by day or by night, and with great speed get in front of the enemy. After properly organizing his entire army, foot and horse, he should engage them in battle, as we have previously explained in detail. If he does it in this way, by the grace of Christ and by the power and intercession of his undefiled mother, he will be victorious in the struggle against the enemy. Enough about this now.

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<sup>1</sup>This seems to derive from the Arabic *saqat* and designates a sort of rear guard: A. Dain, "Saka dans les traités militaires," *BZ*, 44 (1951), 94–96. Dain finds that *saka* occurs only in *Campaign Organization and Tactics* and in the *Sylloge Tacticorum*, and apparently did not notice its use in the present treatise. Nikephoros Ouranos also uses it in his *Tactics*: J. A. de Foucault, ed., "Douze chapitres inédits de la *Tactique* de Nicéphore Ouranos," *TM*, 5 (1973), 281–312, esp. p. 293.

<sup>2</sup>The "emir" probably refers to Sayf ad-Dawla.

<sup>3</sup>*Foulkon*, related to German *Volk*, generally designates a body of troops in very close or compact order, sometimes forming a solid defensive wall with their shields overlapping and their spear points sticking out. See H. Mihaescu, *Revue de linguistique*, 14 (1969), 264; also Nikephoros Ouranos, ed. de Foucault (see *supra*, note 1), 289; Maurice, *Strategikon*, et alibi.

⟨ι'.⟩

Περὶ τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ κούρσου καὶ  
τοῦ λαοῦ ὁπισθεν ἐπακολουθοῦντος.

Ἄ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐθεασάμεθα ἐκθέσθαι οὐδαμῶς κατοκνήσομεν. τὸ  
5 τῶν πολεμίων φοσσάτον διαφόρως, οἳ τε ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς ὁμοῦ  
τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν συνεξήρχοντο· καὶ ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἡμέ-  
ραις ὁμοῦ συμπεριπατήσαντες, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ πλείοσιν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων  
διεχωρίζοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τὰς ἡμετέρας χώρας κατατρέχειν  
καὶ λεηλατεῖν βουλόμενοι προϋλάμβανον ἡμερῶν τινων διάστημα,  
10 τοῦ πεζικοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότες, διὰ τὸ σπεύδειν αὐτοὺς ἀμνηντὶ  
τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῶν χωρίων καταλαβεῖν, οἵκοι μένοντας. τὸ δὲ τοῦλδον  
μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀποσκευῆς ὁπισθεν ἐπόμενον, ἥνικα  
τὰς δυσχωρίας καὶ τὰ στενὰ διήλθεν, ἐπιτήδειον διασκοπῆσαν τόπον  
πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, τὰς σκηναὶς πηξάμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ  
15 ἠυλίζοντο, τοὺς εἰς κούρσον ἐκδραμόντας ἱππεῖς ἐκεῖσε προσεκδεχό-  
μενοι, ἵνα τοὺς ὑποστρέφοντας καλῶς τὰς δυσχωρίας διαβιβάσωσιν.

Ὁ οὖν στρατηγὸς τὴν ἐξέλευσιν αὐτῶν καταμηνύμενος τὰς  
παραμονὰς ἀποστελλέτω, καὶ πάντα ποιείτω κατὰ τὴν ἀνωτέρω διά-  
ταξιν. καὶ εἰ μὲν εὐχερές ἐστι τῷ στρατηγῷ, τοὺς εἰς τὴν λείαν  
20 ἐκδραμόντας διεσκεδασμένους καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τούτους κατατρο-  
πώσασθαι, | ἔργῳ τοῦτο σπευσάτω πληρῶσαι. εἰ δὲ διὰ τινὰ σφάλ-  
ματα καὶ τὰς συμβαινούσας ἐναντιώσεις ἐμπόδιον προσυπαντήσει  
αὐτῷ, εἰς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ φοσσάτου πόλεμον παρασκευασθήτω. καὶ τὸν  
τόπον ἐν ᾧ τὰς σκηναὶς ἐπήξαντο ἀκριβῶς διασκοπησάτω, μή ποτε  
V f. 247<sup>v</sup> 25 ποταμὸς ἐστὶν | ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς προξενῶν ἢ ῥύαξ. καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
θέσιν τοῦ τόπου δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ σπουδῇ πολλῇ  
πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸ πεζικὸν στράτευμα, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐπισυναγαγεῖν.  
προσδοκῶντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν τούτων ἀποκίνησιν καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ  
ἀπλήκτῳ μετάβασιν, ἢ τυχὸν δι' αὐτομόλων τοῦτο πυνθανομένου,  
30 δέον ἱππεῖς ἀποστεῖλαι νυκτὸς ἀρχηγοὺς ἔχοντας τῶν ἐμπείρων ἀν-  
δρῶν καὶ ἀξιολόγων, καὶ δύο ἐγκρύμματα παρασκευάσαι ἔνθεν κἀ-  
κεῖθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ, δι' ἧς γενήσεται ἡ τῶν πολεμίων διέλευσις. ἐξ αὐτῶν  
δὲ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος εἰς λόχον κατα-  
στησάτω, χωρία φυλάττοντας τὰ πλησίον τῆς παρόδου τῶν πολεμίων  
35 διακείμενα. καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν χρῆ' ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ μετὰ  
παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἵστασθαι κεκρυμμένον, καὶ ἐκ περιωπῆς ἐφο-  
ρῶντα τὴν τῶν πολεμίων διάβασιν. οἱ οὖν ἱππεῖς τῶν πολεμίων οἱ εἰς  
συλλογισμὸν χρειῶν τὰ χωρία διερευνώμενοι τὰ πλησίον τούτοις  
συμπαρακείμενα, ἥνικα ἐν τοῖς φυλαττομένοις χωρίοις εἰσέλθωσι,  
40 τῶν ἵππων ἀποβάντες (τὰς) οἰκίας ἀναψηλαφῶσι τῶν χωριτῶν, κατ'  
αὐτῶν οἱ εἰς τὸν λόχον ἱστάμενοι ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς ὀρμησάτωσαν, καὶ

## 10.

When the raiding party separates itself from the troops following along behind.

We will not be the least bit hesitant in writing down what we have actually observed. In various ways the army of the enemy, cavalry together with infantry, has departed from its own cities and country and, after riding along together for a couple of days, sometimes more, have separated from one another. The horsemen, who want to ride through and plunder our country, separate themselves from the foot soldiers and move on a few days' distance ahead, since they are in a hurry to attack the inhabitants of the villages before they can be warned and while they are still in their homes. The baggage train with the infantry and their equipment follows behind. After passing through defiles and difficult terrain and searching for a site which would assure their protection and safety, they pitch their tents and set up camp. There they await the return of the horsemen who had ridden out to raid, so they can escort them safely through difficult terrain.

Now, then, when it is reported to the general that they have broken out, he should dispatch the scouts and do everything as laid down above. If it can be done easily, the general should attack the men who have ridden out to plunder while they are scattered, and he will make them turn to flight. He should be quick to put all this into action. But if there has been some blundering and he has run into problems, then let him get ready to do battle against the encamped army. Let him carefully reconnoiter the sectors in which they have pitched their tents, in case there is a river or stream which may offer them protection. He ought to make his preparations with the nature of the terrain in mind, and, if possible, he ought to make every effort to get the foot soldiers to join him. Should the general suspect that they will move off and change the site of their camp, or perhaps learn this from deserters, he ought to dispatch horsemen at night under experienced and proven officers to prepare two hiding places on either side of the road along which the enemy will have to pass. He should then select a hundred men from that group and set them in ambush, watching the villages near the route to be taken by the enemy. He should station himself and all his troops in a convenient, concealed location and from a good vantage point observe the enemy as they ride along. The enemy horsemen would be searching about the villages in the vicinity collecting what they need. As they enter the villages watched by our men and dismount and search the houses of the inhabitants, then let those hundred horsemen lying in ambush charge out, kill as many as they

H 207 ὅσους ἀνελεῖν δυνηθῶσιν εἴτε ζωγρῆσαι, παραντικά πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμήσουσιν, ὑποφεύγοντες τὴν ὁδὸν | τὴν ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύο ἐγκρυσμάτων διερχομένην ἐφελκόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς δίωξιν. καταδι-  
 45 κώμενοι δὲ ταῖς ἐνέδραις περιπεσεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάσουσι. τότε οὖν ἐξερχέσθωσαν τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἰστάμενα ἐγκρύμματα, καὶ σφοδρῶς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρμὴν ποιησάτωσαν, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον μαχαίρας ποιήσονται.

Τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα ὁρῶντος, παραντικά καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ  
 50 τῶν πλειόνων τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ λαοῦ σὺν ὀρμῇματι σφοδροτάτῳ τὴν προσβολὴν εἰς τὴν παράταξιν τῶν πολεμίων ποιείτω. τοὺς δέ γε ὑπολοίπους τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι, καὶ συνάψαι πόλεμον παρασκευασάτω. καὶ εἰ μὴ τι ἐμπόδιον ἐξ ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν γένηται, | τῶν πολεμίων ὑπερισχύσουσιν. εἰ δέ γε  
 V f. 248 55 ἰσχυρῶς μαχόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθῶσι, καὶ στῶσιν ἐν (τῷ) αὐτῷ τόπῳ τὰ ἀχθοφόρα ζῶα ἀποφορτίσαντες, ἅπληκτον δῆθεν ποιούμενοι ἐκ πολλῆς περιστάσεως, καὶ πειρῶνται τοῦ ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι, πολλὴν ἐκ τούτου ἐφεύρωσι τὴν δυσχέρειαν. ἀλλ' ὅμως χρή καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν κύκλῳ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, καί, εἰ  
 60 δυνατὸν, καὶ πεζικὸν λαὸν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ καταλαβεῖν τάχει πολλῶ παραγενέσθαι τοῦτο παρασκευάσαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον ἔστι διὰ τὸ πόρρω τούτους τυγχάνειν, τοὺς προσήκοντας τῶν ἵππεων τῶν ἵππων ἀποβῆναι διορισάτω, καὶ πεζῇ τοῖς πολεμίους μετὰ τῶν ἵπποτῶν μάχεσθαι, τόξοις καὶ σφενδόσι καὶ δόρασι σὺν ἀσπίσι  
 65 χρωμένους. δεῖ οὖν τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποσκευὴν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸ τοῦλδον εἴ γε πλησίον τυγχάνει, καὶ σύνεγγυς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπληκεῦσαι εἰς | ἐκπληξιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπόγνωσιν. εἰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ὕδωρ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τοῦτο πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν αὐτοῖς προξενήσει. καὶ εἰ μὴ τελῶς τούτους καταγωνίσηται, ἀλλ' οὖν πολ-  
 H 208 70 λούς γε τούτων ἀνδραποδίσῃ, πλείστους δὲ καὶ θανατώσῃ καὶ τραυματίας ἐργάσεται, καὶ τὸ ἀλαζονικὸν αὐτῶν καταβάλλῃ φρόνημα, ὥστε μὴ ἀδεῶς κατατολμᾶν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν χωρίων τὰς ἐφόδους ποιεῖσθαι.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ πρότερον ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγνῶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου  
 75 αὐτῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἀπλήκτῳ μετάβασιν, ἢ, ὥς ἔφην, δι' αὐτομόλων ἢ διὰ δεσμωτῶν, ὅπως ἐν νυκτὶ ἀποστείλας παρασκευάσῃ ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ αὐτῶν τὰ ἐγκρύμματα· καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὁδοιπορούντων τῶν πολεμίων φανερώς παρασκευασάμενος τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν διάθηται πόλεμον, εἴ γε οὐ πάντῃ ὀλιγοστόν καὶ εὐαρίθμητον κέκτῃται στράτευμα.

80 Ὁ γὰρ κατὰ (τοῦ) τοῦλδον αὐτῶν πόλεμος συντόμως οὐδέποτε ἐναντίωσιν ἢ βλάβῃν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ στρατῷ προὔξενῃσεν, ὀλίγους ἔχον μαχίμους ἱππεῖς εἰς φυλακὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσάκις ἂν κατ' αὐτῶν συνήφθῃ πόλεμος, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο καὶ ἀνείλε. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἡμιόνων αὐτῶν

can, or take them prisoner. The enemy will immediately turn to flight, seeking refuge down the road which passes between the two ambushes, with our men in pursuit. They pursue the enemy in such a way that they get caught in the trap. Then the men who have been stationed in hiding on both sides of the road should ride out and charge upon them with great force, and they will put a large number of them to the sword.

When the general sees all this, he should immediately, with most of his men, launch an attack as vigorously as possible on the enemy battle line. Let the rest of his men move toward the rear of the enemy and get set to join battle there. Unless our sins cause something to prevent it, they will overpower the enemy. Still, by fighting fiercely the enemy might be able to hold their ground. They might make their stand in that very place, unloading the pack animals and throwing up a sort of rampart of all the things lying around, and form up for battle against us. This would cause great difficulty. Nonetheless, the general must continue the battle against them by forming a circle.<sup>1</sup> If possible, our infantry force should really rush to get there on the day of the battle so they may join in preparing this maneuver. If this is impossible because they are too far away, some of the capable horsemen should be ordered to dismount and fight the enemy on foot, along with the other horsemen, making use of bows, slings, spears, and shields. The general should have his equipment and baggage train brought up, if they happen to be nearby, and should set up camp near the enemy to their consternation and despair. If there is absolutely no water in that place, this too will cause them to become demoralized. Even if he does not completely defeat them, he will, nonetheless, take many of them captive, very many he will kill or leave wounded, and he will destroy their warlike spirit. They will not dare launch an attack against Roman settlements again.

If the general does not know in advance of their moving from one campsite to another, either, as I said, through deserters or prisoners, which would give him time to send out ambushing parties at night along their route, then during the daytime, as the enemy are marching along openly, he should prepare to launch an attack against them, unless, of course, his army is absolutely too small and undermanned.

An attack against the baggage train, to put it succinctly, never leads to resistance or damage to our army, for it is protected by only a few horsemen. In fact, every time we have gotten into battle with them, the army of the Romans has captured and killed large numbers of them and has also made off with many of their pack animals and mules along with their loads. If the infantry force should arrive on



V f. 248<sup>v</sup> 85 πεφορτισμένα ἀνελάβοντο. εἰ δὲ | καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στράτευμα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
πολέμου τύχῃ, τὸ ὥπλισμένον δηλονότι καὶ πρὸς πολέμους ἐγγεγυμ-  
νασμένον, καὶ κύκλῳ κατ' αὐτῶν στρατηγικῶς παρασκευάσῃ τὸν πόλ-  
εμον, τελείῳ τούτους ἀφανισμῷ παραδῶ. τοιαῦτα γὰρ γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ  
τούλδῳ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, καὶ ἐθ-  
H 209 90 εασάμεθα καὶ ἐν ἱστορικοῖς | ἀνέγνωμεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαιο-  
τέρων μεμαθήκαμεν. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὠφέλιμος ὁ κατὰ τοῦ τούλδου  
πόλεμος ὡς μὴ φέρων τινὰ βλάβην ἢ ἐναντίωσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ νίκην καὶ  
εὐκλειαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ τὴν νικῶσαν εὕρῃ εἰς τὸν κατ' αὐτὸ πόλεμον  
ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατός, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην ὑποστήσεται.

95 Εἰ δὲ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ πρότερον ἠυλίζοντο διέμειναν ἐν αὐτῷ, μηδα-  
μῶς τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀπάραντες διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου ὀχυρότητα τὸ κοῦρσον  
ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως ὁ στρατηγὸς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπάξει τὸν  
πόλεμον, μὴ ποτε ἐμβραδύνοντος διὰ τὴν τοῦ πεζικοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ ἐπι-  
σώρευσιν, ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ πρόφασιν, ὑποστρέψῃ τὸ κοῦρσον καὶ  
100 διακωλύσῃ τὸν πόλεμον. οὕτως δὲ χρή τὸν στρατηγὸν κατ' αὐτῶν  
ἐπελθεῖν. διασκοπῆσαι διὰ τῶν ἀποστελλομένων βιγλατόρων τὰ  
συμπαρακείμενα χωρία, καὶ συνεγγυς ὄντα τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τῶν πολε-  
μίων, κἀκεῖσε ἀποκρύψαι ἱππεῖς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ μετὰ  
ἄρχοντος ἐμπειροτάτου καὶ ἀνδρείου. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσέρχονται  
105 τροφὰς διερευνώμενοι κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρμησάτωσαν. ἐτέρους δὲ ἱππεῖς  
εἰς λόχον ἀπαρτίσαι εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
ἀποσταλέντων. καὶ εἰ γε τούτους βουληθῶσιν ἐπιδιώξαι οἱ τῶν πο-  
λεμίων ἱππεῖς, ἐπίθωνται κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τρέψονται καὶ καταδιώ-  
ξουσιν, διὰ τὸ ἀείποτε ὀλιγοστοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἱππεῖς, τοὺς εἰς φυλακὴν  
110 τοῦ τούλδου τῶν πολεμίων καταλιμπανομένους.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις μὴ εἰσερχομένων, εἰ καὶ ἀδύ-  
νατον τοῦτο τυγχάνει, διορισάτω ὁ στρατηγὸς τοὺς ἀποστελλομένους  
H 210 παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐμπείρων ἀνδρῶν βιγλάτορας, καὶ διασκοπησά|τωσαν  
ἐν ᾧ μέρει τοῦ ἀπλήκτου αὐτῶν τὰς καμήλους οἱ πολέμοι εἰς νομὴν  
115 ἐξάγουσι. καὶ διαχωρισάτω εἴτε τουρμάρχην εἴτε τοποτηρητὴν χρή-  
σιμον μεθ' ἱππέων ἀνδρείων. καὶ σκοπησάτωσαν ῥύακα, εἰ εὕρηται |  
V f. 249 ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐπιτηδεῖος, καὶ παρασυρθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ κεκρυμμένοι, ἕως  
οὐ πλησίον γένωνται. καὶ τότε φανερώς κατὰ τῶν καμήλων τὴν ἐπί-  
θεσιν ποιήσονται. εἰς δύο δὲ τὸν λαὸν οἱ ἀποσταλέντες διαμερισά-  
120 τωσαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις τὰς νομενομένας καμήλους καὶ τὰς ὄνους  
ἀναλαβέτωσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ ἐκδίκησιν καὶ βοήθειαν  
αὐτῶν ἔστωσαν. καὶ εἰ τύχῃ φούλκον ἔξω τοῦ φοσσάτου τῶν πολεμίων  
ἰστάμενον καὶ ἐπέλθῃ κατὰ τῶν εἰς τὰς καμήλους ἐπιθεμένων, ἢ καὶ  
ἐκ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐξέλθωσιν ἱππεῖς καταδιώκοντες, οἱ ὀπισθεν ὄντες  
125 τούτους καταγωνίσονται. παραντίκα δὲ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός, οὐ πόρρω  
ῶν, ἀλλὰ πλησίον ἐν τῷ ἐγκρύμματι, κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξελθέτω. καὶ καθὼς  
ὀρᾷ συναφθέντα τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτω καὶ διατεθῇ, ἢ σφοδρῶς κατὰ

the day of battle, presumably equipped and in good condition for combat, he should, as a good general, prepare an attack in a circle against them, and it should end up with their being annihilated. That this has been done against the baggage train of the enemy, as well as by them against ours, we have witnessed, read about in history books, and have learned from our predecessors. For these reasons an attack on the baggage train works out well. It does not result in resistance or any damage but in victory and glory. For even if the Roman army should not be victorious in battle against it, at least it will not suffer any damage.

If the enemy remain in their original campsite, reluctant to depart because the place is so strong, and they wait for the raiding party there, in like manner the general should launch his attack against them. He should not delay in order to assemble his own infantry or on some other pretext, for the raiding party might return and forestall the attack. This is how the general should move against them. He should send out scouts to reconnoiter the surrounding settlements, especially those close to the enemy camp. Select horsemen under an experienced and courageous officer should be placed in concealment in a suitable location in the area. Then, as the enemy troops who have been out foraging for supplies come into them, they should attack. Place other horsemen in ambush to support and augment the troops sent out ahead. If the enemy horsemen should actually try to pursue these troops, they will be set upon, put to flight, and pursued. After all, the number of horsemen left behind to guard the enemy's baggage train is always very small.

In case the enemy does not come into the region, so that this plan is not feasible, then let the general order those more experienced scouts, whom he had dispatched previously, to find out on what side of the camp the enemy lead the camels out to graze. Let him then detail a turmarch or a suitable substitute with some courageous horsemen to look about for a stream, if a convenient one can be found in the place. Staying hidden, they should sneak along it until they get close. They should then come out and attack the camels. The troops on this mission should be divided into two parties. Half of them should take the camels and asses while they are grazing. The other half should provide protection and aggressive support for them. Even if a *foulkon* of the enemy is stationed outside the camp and should move up against the men attacking the camels, or horsemen should ride out of the camp and pursue them, the troops left behind will engage these in battle. Then, too, the general, who should not be far away but in concealment nearby, should immediately move out against them. As he observes the battle which has been joined, he should so

τῶν πολεμίων ἐπέλθῃ, ἥ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπι-  
 κρατεστέρων ὄντων, ἐν τάξει καὶ μὴ διεσκεδασμένως τὴν ἐπέλευσιν  
 130 κατὰ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσεται. καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν  
 αὐτοῦ, ἵππεις τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἀγαγὼν, ἐπεὶ τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν ἐξε-  
 πίσταται, διαμερίσει τὰ κατατόπια ταῖς τάξεσι πάσαις τῶν τε ἵπ-  
 πέων καὶ πεζῶν, καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν διάθηται πόλεμον, εἰ οἷόν τέ  
 ἐστί, κύκλῳ.

135 Εἰ δὲ ποταμός ἐστιν ἢ ρύαξ, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν, ἀντὶ χά-  
 ρακος τοὺς πολεμίους φυλάττων, εἰ μὲν ὁπωσοῦν πόρον δέχεται, κἀ-  
 κεῖθεν λαὸν ἐπιστήσει. παρασκευάσει δὲ καὶ σκηναῖς | αὐτῶν πῆξαι  
 H 211 πρὸς τὸ ἐνδείξασθαι μέλλοντα αὐτὸν ἀπληκεῦσαι ἐκεῖσε εἰς ἐκθρόη-  
 σιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ εἰ καλῶς καὶ εὐτά-  
 140 κτως καὶ ἀνδρείως διάθηται τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου μεγάλως εὐδοωθήσε-  
 ται. εἰ δέ γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐ δυνήσεται τούτους κατατροπώσασθαι,  
 ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῶν ἀνθισταμένων καὶ πεζικὴν ἐχόντων δύναμιν καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς τοῦ τόπου θέσεως βοηθουμένων, δεῶν καὶ παραμεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 πλεῖον πεζικὸν προσκαλέσασθαι. καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς κατ'  
 145 αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας βάλλειν παρασκευάσει, καὶ πυρὰ πλεί-  
 στα ἀνάπτειν γύροθεν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἀνδρείως καὶ εὐτόλμως παραινέ-  
 σαι τοῖς ψιλοῖς τοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἕως ἄν  
 εἰσέλθωσιν ἔνδον τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιό-  
 V f. 249<sup>o</sup> νους καὶ τινα πράγματα νυκτὸς ἀναλάβωσιν, | πλήττοντες συνεχῶς  
 150 καὶ ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ εἰ ὅλως Θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ τοιοῦτον  
 πρὸς ἓν μέρος γένηται, καὶ θεαθῇ καὶ ἐπιγνωσθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τά-  
 ξων, ὀρμήσουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦντες εἰς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν  
 λαφύρων διὰ τὴν τοῦ κέρδους ἐλπίδα, καὶ περιγέωνται τούτων τῇ τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ χάριτι ῥαδίως. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τελέως τούτους κατατροπώσεται  
 155 διὰ τινα τυχόν σφάλματα καὶ ἀποτυχίας, ἀλλ' οὖν πολλοὺς τούτων καὶ  
 χειρώσεται καὶ ἀναιρήσει, καὶ λάφυρα πλείστα ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ λήψεται.

Οὕτως δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὰ περὶ τῶν πολέμων τοῦ φορσάτου διε-  
 νεργούντος, χρή καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν χρησίμων καὶ ἐμπείρων μετὰ τεσ-  
 H 212 σαρακόντα ἵππέων μήκοθεν ἀποστεῖλαι, φυ | λάττειν τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν  
 160 ὑποστρέφειν μέλλει τὸ τῶν πολεμίων κούρσον. καὶ ἡνίκα τούτους  
 θεάσεται πρὸς τὸ φορσάτον αὐτῶν ἐρχομένους καὶ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν,  
 ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ταρσίταις, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς βέρεδον, ἐρ-  
 χόμενον σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν, καταμηνύσαι τῷ φορσάτῳ τὴν τοῦ κούρσου  
 αὐτῶν παρουσίαν. εὐθέως ὁ εἰς τὴν βίγλαν ἀποσταλεὶς ἄρχων  
 165 μηννέτω τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἴδῃ τὸ βέρεδον μήκοθεν πολὺ τῆς  
 παρατάξεως τοῦ κούρσου ἐρχόμενον, ἀποστείλῃ ἄρχοντα τῶν χρησί-  
 μων μετ' ἐκλεκτῶν ἵππέων, ἐπιθέσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἀδο-  
 κήτως, καὶ κατακυριεύσει τούτων ῥαδίως. εἰ δὲ πλησίον καὶ σύνεγγυς  
 τῆς παρατάξεως τοῦ κούρσου ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν περιπατεῖ, μὴ ἀπο-  
 170 στειλάτω κατ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἀρκεσθήτω πρὸς ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ

organize his forces either to charge fiercely against the enemy or, if the troops sent out are more numerous than his own people, he should keep them together in formation and make his attack against the enemy camp. Presuming that he knows the lay of the land, he should lead out all of his people, cavalry and infantry. He should assign sectors to all the units of horse and foot and then launch an attack against them, if possible, in a circle.

If, as we mentioned above, there is a river or a stream which can protect the enemy in place of a rampart, and if there is some sort of ford, he should station his men there. He should be sure to have them pitch their tents to make it quite clear that they intend to camp there, which should frighten the enemy. If he makes his dispositions for battle in a good, orderly, and courageous manner, he will achieve great success. But if he should be unable to put them to flight on the first day, since they might put up a fierce resistance and be aided by an infantry force and the terrain, then he ought to remain nearby and call in more infantry. He should also get light troops and slingers to fire at them during the night, and he should light a large number of fires all around them. He should exhort the light troops to join in hand-to-hand combat and face danger bravely and boldly until they make their way inside the enemy camp. Then at night they can take the horses, mules, and other things, continuously striking and slaughtering the enemy. If, with God's help, this is exactly how things are going in one sector, the other units in line will see this and know what is happening. They will then rush over and, contemning death in order to seize plunder and hoping to pick up something, they will easily overcome them, by the grace of Christ. If, owing to some blunders or ill fortune, his troops do not utterly defeat them, they will, nonetheless, capture and kill many of them and will take a huge amount of booty.

As the general is directing operations around the enemy camp, he ought also to send a competent, experienced officer with forty horsemen out a good distance to guard the road down which the enemy raiding party is likely to return. When he observes them riding toward their camp, moving closer to our men, and, as is customary with the people of Tarsus, with what they call a *veredon* out in front of them to announce to the troops in the camp that the raiding party is coming, the officer who had been detailed for scout duty should immediately inform the general.<sup>2</sup> If he sees that the *veredon* is a good distance ahead of the main body of the raiders, he should dispatch a competent officer with select horsemen to attack them, if possible, by surprise, and he will easily overpower them. But if the *veredon* is advancing just a little bit ahead of the main body of raiders, nobody should be sent out against them. He should, rather, be satisfied with the help that God has given him in

συνήργησεν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ φοσσάτου πόλεμον, καὶ ὑποστρεφέσθω μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ὀχυρωτέρων τόπων.

- Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων φοσσάτον διὰ τοῦτο διήλθε πάσας  
 175 τὰς δυσχωρίας, ἐκδεχόμενον τὴν τοῦ κούρσου παρουσίαν, ἵνα τὰ  
 παρὰ τοῦ κούρσου κατασχεθέντα, εἴτε ἀνδράποδα εἶεν εἴτε κτήνη,  
 καλῶς σὺν αὐτοῖς διασώσῃ διαβιβάζον τὰς δυσχωρίας· δέον τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν ἀγωνίσασθαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς στε-  
 νωποὺς κατασχεῖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων, καὶ τὸν  
 180 κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἐπιμελέστερον ἀπαρτίσει, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω δε-  
 V f. 250 δήλωται. καὶ μηδέποτε | ὑποστρεφόντων αὐτῶν ἀπολέμητοι κατα-  
 λειφθῶσιν. εἰ γὰρ καλῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διάθοιτο,  
 H 213 μεγάλως αὐτοὺς κατατροπώσεται. εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν πλείστην καὶ  
 185 ἀξιόλογον πεζικὴν δύναμιν, ἀδυνατεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέγας αὐτοὺς κατα-  
 τροπώσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὖν τέως οὐσπερ ἡχμαλώτευσαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάν-  
 τας, ἀναρρύσεται καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν πολεμίων αὐτῶν  
 ἅπαντα τραυματίσουσι καὶ δορυαλώτους ποιήσονται.

10: 3 ὀπισθεν De: ὀπιθεν VS || 5 τοῖς πεζοῖς Hase: τῶν πεζῶν VS || 8 διεχωρίζοντο Hase: διεχωρίζετο VS || 40 τὰς Hase: om. VS || 54 post fol. 247\* inseruit alium fol. V eadem verba continens, pluribus tamen abundans erroribus et ad textus intelligentiam nullius fere momenti || 56 τῷ Hase: om. VS || 58 ἐκ Hase: ἐν VS || 69 τελέως Hase: τελέους V: τελείους S || 70 γε Hase: καὶ VS || 80 τοῦ De: om. VS || 87 καὶ De: καὶ παρασκευάσει VS || 93 αὐτὸ Hase: αὐτῶν VS || 103 ἀποκρύψαι Hase: ἀποκρύψας VS || 106 ἀπαρτίσαι Hase: ἀπαρτίσας VS || 110–111 τῶν πολεμίων . . . δὲ V: om. S || 135 ἡ Hase: καὶ VS || 136 μὲν Hase: μὲν ὡς VS || 143 αὐτοῖς Hase: αὐτοὺς VS || 145 πυρὰ Hase: παρὰ VS || 186 ἀναρρύσεται V: ἀναρρύνονται S

⟨ια' .⟩

Περὶ τοῦ ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἵστασθαι  
 τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις.

- Χρὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἀγωνίσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους  
 5 τροπώσασθαι, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν λαός. τόπον διασκο-  
 πησάτω ἐπιτηδεῖον καὶ ὀχυρώτατον, εἰ τύχη καὶ πλησίον κάστρον,  
 ὡς ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ὀχυροῦ τόπου θέσιν μετὰ πεζῶν κρατεῖσθαι,  
 καὶ ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς λόχους τὸ πεζικὸν ἀποκρύπτειν στρά-  
 τευμα. τοῦ δὲ πεζικοῦ ὀπισθεν ὁ στρατηγὸς συνεγγυς μετὰ τοῦ ἱπ-  
 10 πικοῦ στρατεύματος στήτω, πάνυ τῶν πεζῶν ἔγγιστα. ἔχειν τε καὶ  
 τὸ ἱππικὸν ἔγκρυμμα καὶ πεζοὺς πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ σχεδὸν συνη-  
 νωμένως κατὰ τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος ἱστάσθω.

the battle against the enemy's army, and he should return with all his people, seizing very strong and suitable sites.

When the enemy army has passed through the difficult areas and awaits the arrival of the raiding party in order to escort it through those difficult areas and, along with them, preserve intact their booty, whether this consists of captives or flocks, the general must strive to get there ahead of them and with all his men, foot and horse, occupy the passes. He will be able to direct the fighting against them all the more carefully, as has been explained above. When they turn back they should not be allowed any respite at all from attack. If he does good work in organizing the fighting in the difficult areas, he will absolutely overwhelm them. But if, because he does not have a sufficient or worthwhile infantry force, he is unable to rout them completely, he will, nonetheless, rescue many, if not all, of our people who had been taken captive as well as their property. His troops will certainly wound a good number of the enemy themselves and take captives.

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<sup>1</sup>This appears to be a technical term which must signify some sort of encircling movement.

<sup>2</sup>*Veredon* probably comes from the Latin *veredus* meaning horses used by envoys, couriers, and others, paid for by public funds. See, for example, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, I, 89, ed. I. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), 400. Here it is used for an advance party of horsemen.

## 11.

### Stationing the infantry on both sides in defiles.

Even if he has only a small number of troops with him, the general should make use of another method in his efforts to defeat the enemy. Let him search for a suitable and very secure location, if possible, with a fortress nearby. The natural defenses of the site should allow it to be occupied by infantry. Units of them should be concealed in ambushes on both sides of the road. Let the general take position close behind the infantry, very, very close behind them, and with him the cavalry units. A concealed cavalry force and the infantry should be close to him, and his own position should be almost in the rear ranks of the infantry.

- Ἄποσταλήτωσαν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
 ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι καὶ ἵππους τραχεῖς ἔχοντες ἄχρι τῶν ἑκατὸν, ἀρχη-  
 15 γόν ἔχοντες ἀνδρεῖον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον καὶ γινώσκοντα χωρίον ἐπι-  
 τήδειον ἐν ᾧ κρύψῃ τὸν ἴδιον λαόν. νυκτὸς δὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον τόπον κα-  
 ταλαμβάνετω, καὶ καλῶς αὐτοὺς ἀποκρυψάτω. ἡνίκα δὲ διαυγάσῃ,  
 εἰς περιωπὴν ἀνελθὼν βλέπετω τῶν πολεμίων περιπατούντων τὴν  
 τούτων διάβασιν. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς εἰς λείαν ἐκτρέχοντας καὶ τὰ χωρία  
 H 214 20 διερευνῶντας, | πρὸς τὸ ἐπισυναγαγεῖν λάφυρά τε καὶ χρήματα, καὶ  
 εἴ τι ἕτερον ἐφενρεῖν δυνηθῶσι, καρτερησάτω ἕως ἄν θεάσῃται αὐ-  
 τοὺς τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντας, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χωρίων ἀνερευ-  
 νωμένους. τότε τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἱππέων εἴτε ἐβδομήκοντα ἢ ἐξήκοντα,  
 25 τῶν πολεμίων τῷ ἀριθμῷ εἶναι ὀφείλουσιν οἱ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ—διο-  
 V f. 250<sup>v</sup> ρισάσθω τούτους ἀνδρεῖς ὁρμή|ματι σὺν ὀξυτάτῃ τῶν ἱππέων ὁρμῇ  
 ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις, καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ εὐδοθήσεται. εἰ  
 δὲ συμβῇ τούτους ἐπιδιωχθῆναι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, δέον προαπαν-  
 τήσαι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων αὐτῷ τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοὺς  
 30 μὲν κατασχεθέντας δεσμώτας ἢ ἀναιρῆσαι ἢ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποστεί-  
 λαι, ἀπελθεῖν τάχιον καὶ τὸ ὀχύρωμα καταλαβεῖν.
- Κάκεϊνος ἐμπείρως μαχόμενος καὶ ἀνθιστάμενος τοῖς πολε-  
 μίοις, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ὑποστρέφων κατ' αὐτῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ὑποφεύγων,  
 ἐρεθίσει αὐτοὺς πρὸς δίωξιν. καὶ εἰ ἄχρι τῶν τόπων καταδιώξωσιν ἐν  
 35 οἷς οἱ πεζοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, καὶ τούτους τινὲς τῶν πολεμίων διέλ-  
 θωσι, τότε οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν ἐγκρυμμάτων ἐξερχόμενοι ἀντιστήσονται  
 τοῖς διώκουσι πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀπωθήσονται. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς διελ-  
 θόντες πολέμοι ἐμπεσοῦνται τῷ ἐγκρύμματι τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ ἄρδην  
 ἅπαντες ἀπολοῦνται. ὑπὸ γάρ τοῦ τόπου οἱ πεζοὶ βοηθούμενοι οὐκ  
 40 ἐάσουσι τοὺς διώκοντας διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δίωξιν καταλείψουσιν  
 (καὶ) ἄπρακτοι πάντως ὑποστρέψουσιν, τοὺς ἤδη προκατασχεθέντας  
 τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολέσαντες. |

11: 4 τὸν στρατηγόν Hase: τῷ στρατηγῷ VS || 8 ἔνθεν Hase: ἐν VS || 9 ὀπισθεν De: ὀπιθεν  
 VS || 12 ὀπισθεν De: ὀπιθεν VS || 15 γινώσκοντα Hase: γινώσκονται VS || 18 βλέπετω Hase:  
 βλέπόντων VS || 22 τὰς οἰκίας De: τοὺς ἵππους VS || 34 ἐρεθίσει Hase: εὐρεθίσει VS || 41 καὶ  
 Hase: om. VS

Up to a hundred selected men should be dispatched by the general to prepare ambushes. They should have rugged horses and be commanded by an experienced and courageous officer who knows suitable locations for hiding his men. He should occupy such a place at night and carefully hide them. At daybreak let him go up to an observation post and observe the movements of the enemy as they march about. When he sees them riding out to plunder and searching through the villages to gather booty and money and whatever else they can find, he should hold tight until he observes them dismounting and searching through the houses in the villages. Then with sixty or seventy horsemen, his own men, obviously outnumbering the enemy (for the general's force ought to be more numerous than the enemy), he should command them to charge courageously with the full impact of cavalry upon their adversaries, and with the cooperation of God they will be successful. But if it should happen that they are pushed back by the enemy, they should bring the remaining forty horsemen into action. Prisoners should either be killed or sent on ahead, so our men can move out quickly and reach the fortified place.

That officer, meanwhile, shows his experience by continuing to fight against the enemy. At times he charges into them, at times he begins to run away, and he provokes them into pursuing. If they pursue up to that place in which the infantry is concealed and some of the enemy pass right by them, then our men should charge out of their hiding places and check the pursuing enemy, who will be repelled. The enemy who do make their way through our infantry will fall right into the ambush set up by our cavalry and will be annihilated. The infantry, taking advantage of the terrain, will not allow the pursuers to pass through, but they will leave off the pursuit and all turn back without having accomplished anything, and they will have already lost their own men who had been captured.



H 215

(ιβ'.)

Περὶ ἀθρόας ἐξελεύσεως τῶν πολεμίων πρὸ τοῦ τὰ  
Ῥωμαϊκὰ ἐπισυναχθῆναι στρατεύματα.

Εἰ δέ γε τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέλευσις ἀθρόα καὶ σύντομος γένηται,  
5 οἷα πολλάκις παρ' αὐτῶν εἰώθει γίνεσθαι, μήπω τῶν βασιλικῶν  
στρατευμάτων ἐπισωρευθέντων, ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ στρατηγού, μηδὲ  
αὐτοῦ δυνηθέντος διὰ τὸ σύντομον τῆς αὐτῶν ἐξελεύσεως τὸν ὅλον  
λαὸν τοῦ ἰδίου θέματος ἐπισυναγαγεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ἔχει καὶ εὐαρί-  
θμητον. ὁρᾷ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς λείαν σπεύδοντας καὶ ἐπειγομέ-  
10 νους. ἐπιγνῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ᾗ τὴν ὁρμὴν ποιοῦνται μήπω  
ἐκσπηλευθεῖσαν, καὶ εἰς τὰ κάστρα ἢ εἰς τὰ ὀχυρώματα φυγαδευ-  
θεῖσαν· χρή τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας εἴτε τὸν τουρμάρχη·ν εἴτε ἐτέρους  
ἄρχοντας σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἀποστεῖλαι, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πολεμίων  
γενέσθαι καί, ὥς οἷόν τε ᾧσι, καὶ τοὺς τῶν χωρίων οἰκήτορας καὶ τὰ  
15 τούτων κτήνη καὶ φυγαδεῦσαι καὶ ἐκσπηλευθεῖσαι.

V f. 251

Ὅρωντα δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη μέλλοντας πρὸς  
τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας διάφανυμα τοῖς χωρίοις ἐπιθέσθαι, ὅπισθεν αὐτοὺς ἐπα-  
κολουθοῦντα, | καθὼς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν, τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ δεῖ ἐμφα-  
νισθῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, πρὸς πόλεμον δῆθεν παρασκευαζόμενον· ἵν'  
20 ὥς ἐκ τούτου δυνηθῇ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ἀναστεῖλαι καὶ ἀβλαβῇ τὴν  
χώραν διατηρῆσαι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ποταμὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ δυσπέρατος,  
καὶ μέλλουσι τοῦτον διαπερᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ στένωμα ἢ δυσχωρία ἐν  
τῇ ὁδῷ, ἥνίκα τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ πλείους διαπεράσωσιν ἢ εἰς τὸ στέ-  
νωμα χωρηθῶσιν, εἰς τὸν ὀπισθεν | λαὸν αὐτῶν ἀποστεῖλαι. καὶ αὐτὸν  
25 ἐκείνουν τὸν στρατηγὸν παραγενέσθαι μετὰ ἐκλεκτῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ  
καλοῖππαράτων, καὶ ἐμφανισθῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ πρὸς μάχην  
δῆθεν κατ' αὐτῶν παρασκευασθῆναι, τοῦ συμβαλεῖν πόλεμον· τοὺς  
παριππαράτους καὶ ἐνταγιστράτους διαχωρίζων ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς  
ὀχυρώματα εἴτε κάστρον ἀποστέλλων, εἰ τύχῃ πλησίον. εἰ δὲ πο-  
30 ταμὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲ δυσχωρία ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ὡσαύτως δεῖ μικρόν τι  
παραβουλεύσασθαι καὶ πρὸς μάχην ὁρμῆσαι, ἕως οὗ καὶ ἐπιδιωχθῇ  
παρ' αὐτῶν τῇ νυκτὶ· ἵνα διαγινώσκοντες σαφῶς οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν  
στρατηγὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντα συσταλῶσι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐξελάσαι τολ-  
μήσωσι καὶ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν κατὰ τῶν χωρίων ποιήσωνται. καὶ τούτου  
35 γενομένου, τῆς μελλούσης γενέσθαι ἐπιδρομῆς ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις καὶ  
αἰχμαλωσίας ρύσεται αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐλευθερώσει.

H 216

Μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ ἀκριβείας καὶ διασκέψεως ποιείτω τὴν ἔνδειξιν  
καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν προσβολὴν δι' ὀλίγων καὶ ἐκλεκτῶν, ὥς ἔφημεν, ἱπ-  
πέων, καὶ εὐθέως ὑποστρεφέσθωσαν φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν  
40 καὶ τὸ ὀχύρωμα. καὶ μὴ ἀμέτρως καὶ παρὰ τὸ δέον ἐφορμάτωσαν  
κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, λαοῦ γὰρ ἴσως παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-

## 12.

A surprise attack by the enemy before the Roman forces can be mobilized.

What can be done if the enemy launch a sudden, concentrated attack, which is the sort of thing they frequently do, before the imperial forces have been assembled, and there is only that of the general and, owing to the suddenness of their attack, he has been unable to muster all the troops of his own theme, but all he has is a very few? He sees the enemy energetically rushing about for plunder, and he also realizes that the country in which they are making their raid has not yet been evacuated and the people have not yet taken refuge in the fortresses and strong places. He ought to dispatch the turmarch of that region, or other officers, with great speed to get ahead of the enemy and, as best they can, evacuate and find refuge for the inhabitants of the villages and their flocks.

When the general sees that the enemy are already planning to attack the villages at daybreak, he ought to follow behind them, as we have explained above. That same night he should give the enemy the impression that he is getting ready for battle right then. By doing this he might succeed in forestalling their attack and preserve the region unharmed. If there is a river on their route which is difficult to get across but the enemy are trying to cross, or if the road should narrow or become very rough, then when most of the enemy have crossed over the river or passed through the narrow place, the general should send his troops out behind them. He himself should advance with selected officers and good horsemen and give the enemy the impression that he has been making preparations to fight against them in order to launch an attack. He should send away the grooms and foragers to a strong place or fortress, if there is one in the vicinity. If there is no river or rough ground along the road, he should still expose himself a bit and advance as though to fight, until he is pursued by them at night. In this way the enemy will be very much aware that the general is following them, and they will hold back and will not dare ride out at all and attack the villages. By such procedures he will save the villagers from impending assault and from captivity, and they shall keep their freedom.

With great precision and foresight, let him make his appearance and charge against them with a few selected horsemen, as we have said. These will immediately turn tail and retreat to the strong place and the general. They should not make such charges against the enemy too often or more than is necessary, for the troops could perhaps be taxed beyond their strength and fairly soon perish need-

φορτισθέντος, πολεμίας χειρὸς θάττον γενήσονται παρανώλωμα, καὶ  
 μάλιστα εἰ τύχη πανσέληνον εἶναι τὴν νύκτα. εἰ δὲ ἀφεγγής ἐστι καὶ  
 45 ζοφώδης, ἀβλαβῶς τὴν τοιαύτην πράξιν ἐργάσονται. καὶ δυοῖν θάτε-  
 ρον πάντως φανεῖεν κατωρθώκοτες· μηδ' ὅλως ἐξελάσαι πρὸς λείαν  
 τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάσαντες, ἢ, εἴπερ καὶ ὅλως ἐκδράμωσιν,  
 H 217 ἄχρι τοῦ αὐγάσαι τὴν ἡμέραν | τελείως οὐδαμῶς ἐξελάσαι κατατολ-  
 V f. 251' μήσουσι, καὶ τότε ὀλίγοι τινές. οἱ γὰρ πλείους τὸν | παρὰ τοῦ στρατη-  
 γοῦ πόλεμον ὑφορώμενοι τῆς τοῦ Ἀμηνῶ παρατάξεως οὐκ ἀπο-  
 50 στήσονται. καὶ οὕτως ποιούντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ἐκφύγωσιν οἱ τῶν  
 χωρίων οἰκήτορες εἰς τε τὰ ὀχυρώματα καὶ τὰ κάστρα, καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς  
 διατηρηθῶσιν.

12: 7 ὅλον De: ὀλίγον VS || 17 αὐτοὺς Hase: αὐτὸν VS || 19 παρασκευαζόμενον Hase: παρα-  
 σκευαζόμενος VS || 22 τοῦτον Hase: τοῦτο VS || ἢ Hase: καὶ VS || 24 ὅπισθεν De: ὀπιθεν VS

⟨ιγ'.⟩

Περὶ τοῦ ἐνεδρεῦσαι κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων  
 μινσουρατόρων ἐν τοῖς ἀπλήκτοις.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων φοσσατικῶς τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν δηούντων, καὶ  
 5 κοῦρσα πόρρωθεν μὴ ἀποστελλόντων, ἀλλ' ἐαυτοὺς ἀσφαλιζομένων,  
 σπουδάσει δι' ἐτέρας μηχανῆς τραυματίσαι αὐτούς. διασκοπήσασθαι σε  
 χρή καὶ στοχάσασθαι, ἀφ' οὗ τόπου (τὸ) τῶν πολεμίων ὑπάρχει ἀπλη-  
 κτον καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ μέλλει ἀπληκεῦν. καὶ εἰ μακρότατόν  
 ἐστὶ τὸ διάστημα τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, ὥσει μιλίων ἕξ καὶ δέκα καὶ ἐπέ-  
 10 κεινα, ὥστε τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μήκος δύνασθαι κατακόπους αὐτούς τε καὶ  
 τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν ἐργάσασθαι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ μέλλουσι  
 καταλύειν διασκοπήσας, καὶ εὐρὼν λόχον ἐπιτήδειον, μαχίμους καὶ  
 ἐκλεκτοὺς ἄνδρας ἱππότας τριακοσίους ἢ καὶ τούτων ἑλαττον ἀπολε-  
 ξάμενος, ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκρύψεις. καταστήσεις δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἐνέ-  
 15 δραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ, ἔχοντι καὶ ὀχύ-  
 ρωμα εἰς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ καὶ κάστρον πλησίον τύχῃ, ἐστὶ καὶ  
 αὐτὸ εἰς περισσοτέραν σου σωτηρίαν καὶ ὠφέλειαν. καὶ εἰ χρεῖα  
 γένηται τῶν πεζῶν, ἐξεληθέωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ κάστρου συμμα-  
 H 218 χούντες καὶ ἐπιβοηθοῦντές σοι.

20 Οἱ δὲ προτρέχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καταλαβεῖν τὸν τό-  
 πον πρὸς τὸ εὐτρεπίσαι τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀπληκτα, ὥς εἰώθει, οὓς μινσου-  
 ράτορας εἵθισται Ῥωμαίοις καλεῖν, καὶ ἀσχολουμένων ἐν αὐτοῖς,  
 ἐξεληθέωσαν κατ' αὐτῶν οἱ παρὰ σοῦ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόχῳ πλησίον τοῦ

lessly at the hands of the enemy. They have to be especially careful on nights when the moon is bright, but on moonless, dark nights they will be able to carry out these operations without injury. They will surely achieve either of two results. Either they will have made sure that the enemy do not ride out to plunder at all or, if they should actually go out, in no way will they dare to do so before full daylight, and then only a few will go. Most of them, suspecting that the general will attack, will not leave the emir's battle formation. While the general is doing all this, the villagers may escape to the strong places and fortresses and be preserved from harm.

### 13.

#### Laying an ambush for the so-called *mensuratores* by their campsite.<sup>1</sup>

When the enemy are ravaging our country without breaking their military formation and not sending their raiding parties out to any great distance, but playing it very safe, then the general will have to devise other ways of injuring them. You ought to reconnoiter and form an estimate of the place in which the enemy's camp is presently located and the place in which they are likely to set up camp the next day.<sup>2</sup> If the distance from the present camp is very long, say sixteen miles or further, so that the length of the road is quite likely to wear out both them and their horses, then investigate the ground in the vicinity of the place in which they will probably encamp, find a good place for an ambush, carefully pick out three hundred or fewer combat-ready horsemen and conceal them there. You should set up another ambuscade with all of your people in a suitable location that is protected by some fortifications. If there is also a fortress in the vicinity, this will be a big help and will greatly increase your security. If foot soldiers are needed, have them come from the fortress to assist you in the fighting.

The enemy usually send an advance party of troops, whom the Romans generally call *mensuratores*, ahead to the site to get the camp arranged for them. While they are engaged in this, have the soldiers whom you had earlier stationed in the first

αὐτοῦ ἀπλήκτου προκαταστάντες ὀξέως σὺν ἐλασίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ τού-  
 25 τους βοηθεῖα Θεοῦ χειρώσονται. καὶ εἶγε τούτους οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταδιώ-  
 ξουσιν ἕως τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ περ δυνατόν ἐγκρυμμα κατέστησας, ἐξερ-  
 χόμενος κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνδρικῶ καὶ γενναίῳ ὀρμήματι ὑπερισχύσεις τῶν  
 V f. 252 διωκόντων, καὶ τρόπαιον μνήμης ἄξιον ἀνεγειρεῖς. καὶ εἶγε συμβῇ  
 30 τοῦ ὀχυρώματος βοήθειαν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν, οὕτως καταισχυνεῖς αὐτούς,  
 καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλόντας ἀπράκτους παρασκευάσεις  
 ὑποστρέψαι.

13: 7 τὸ Hase: om. VS || 21 μινσουράτορας Hase: μισουράτορας VS || 24 αὐτοῦ V: om. S ||  
 προκαταστάντες S: προκαστάντες V

⟨ιδ'⟩.

Περὶ τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῶν ἱππέων ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πεζῶν ὁδοιπορούντων ὁμοῦ.

Χρῆ οὖν καὶ τοῦτό σε ἀκριβῶς, ὦ στρατηγέ, σκοπεῖν, καὶ τῶν  
 5 πολεμίων ἀγωνιζομένων διαλαθεῖν σε, καὶ κούρσα ἀποστέλλειν καὶ  
 τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν ληΐσασθαι, ἄγρυπνον ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν, μὴ ποτέ σε ἡ  
 ἐπίνοια καὶ μηχανὴ αὐτῶν διαλάβῃ. ὅπερ γὰρ λέξω καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις οἱ  
 αὐτοὶ ἐξεργάσαντο.

Ὅμοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν σὺν τῇ ἀποσκευῇ  
 10 ὁδοιπορούντων, καθὼς ταῖς ὀπισθεν καὶ διελθούσαις ἡμέραις ἐποιοῦν  
 οἱ εἰς κούρσα ἐξελάσαι βουλόμενοι, ἡνίκα πρὸς δυσμᾶς ὁ ἥλιος κα-  
 H 219 ταντήσῃ, ἡ μὲν ἀπο | σκευὴ αὐτῶν καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ὑπουργικὸν σὺν τῷ  
 πεζῷ τούτῳ στρατεύματι, καὶ τῶν εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν καταλιμπανο-  
 μένων πολεμιστῶν ἱππέων τὰς σκηναὶς πηξάμενοι, ὥς ἔθος αὐτοῖς  
 15 ἀπληκεύουσιν. οἱ δὲ εἰς κούρσον ἐτοιμασθέντες καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας  
 χώρας καταδραμεῖν βουλόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ κονιορτὸν αὐτῶν φανῆναι,  
 ἀμφὶ δέιλῃν ὀψίαν πρὸς κούρσον ὀρμῶσιν. ὁ δὲ παραμεῖναι ὀφείλων  
 τῷ τῶν πολεμίων φοσσάτῳ, εἴτε τουρμάρχης ἐστὶν εἴθ' ἕτερος ἄρχων,  
 μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρχόμενον χρῆ πλησιάσαι τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ αὐλί-  
 20 ζονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς καταλαμβανοῦσης ὀφείλουσι τότε κατὰ  
 τὸ εἰωθὸς εἰσέρχεσθαι, καὶ πλησιάζειν ταῖς σκηναῖς αὐτῶν, μετὰ  
 πρώτην ὥραν ἢ καὶ δευτέραν τῆς νυκτὸς. καὶ ἐὰν οὐχ εὐρήσωσιν ἐν  
 τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς, διὰ τὸ ἤδη αὐτοὺς εἰς κούρσον  
 πορευθῆναι, οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατόν ἄλλως τούτους, τοὺς τὴν παραμονὴν

ambuscade near their camp charge out fiercely with great force, and, with the help of God, you will subdue them. Even if the enemy should pursue them to the place in which you have stationed your strong ambush force, then with a noble, brave charge you will assail and overpower the pursuers and gain a memorable victory. Even if it happens that enemy forces arrive to fight against you, you will have the support of the fortifications and the infantry, and so you will put them to shame. You will force them to retreat without having accomplished anything and having lost many of their own men.

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<sup>1</sup>*Mensuratores*, literally “measurers,” were surveyors or quartering parties who went ahead to lay out the campsites: see Maurice, *Strategikon*, II, 12, in which they are called *minsores*. *Mensuratores* or *minsores* came into use by the tenth century: “. . . whom people now call *minsores*” (Leo, *Tactical Constitutions*, IV, 24).

<sup>2</sup>The author changes from the third to the second person singular, which he retains for the rest of the treatise.

#### 14.

Withdrawing the cavalry from the infantry when  
they are marching together.

It is your duty, General, to search very carefully for the enemy who are making a serious effort to avoid you so they can send out their raiding parties to plunder our lands. Your mind must be alert so that no plan or trick of theirs will ever get by you. For what I am now going to discuss has also been done by the enemy in other places.

When both cavalry and infantry are marching along together with their baggage, those who are planning to ride out raiding do what they have been doing the last few days. Toward sunset their baggage, all the camp servants, and the infantry units, along with the warriors on horseback who have been left behind to guard them, all pitch their tents and make camp as they usually do. The men preparing for the raid and getting set to ride roughshod over our country race out to raid around early evening so their presence will not be betrayed by a cloud of dust. The officer, then, whose duty it is to keep the enemy camp under surveillance, whether he be a turmarch or of some other rank, should, with his men, approach the place in which they are encamped. At nightfall they ought to move in as usual and get close to their tents after the first or second hour of night. If they do not find the enemy horsemen in the camp because they have already gone out raiding, the only way in which the

25 πεπιστευμένους ἄρχοντας, τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς διαγινῶναι καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ ἀληθὲς καταμηνύσαι, εἰ μὴ οὕτως ὡς λέξω.

Δεῖ τοίνυν τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς παραμονὴν ἀποστελλομένους, ἐκ τῶν παραμεινάντων τὰς ὀπισθεν καὶ διελθούσας ἡμέρας τὸ | φοσσάτον, καὶ εἰς τετράδια ἵσταμένους, καθὼς ἄνωτέρω

V f. 252<sup>v</sup>

30 εἰρήκαμεν, δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ ἀνδρείους τῶν εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν ἀπερχομένων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λαμβάνειν· ἵνα καλῶς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναδιδάσκωνται, οἳα πρότερον κἀκεῖνοι ἐνήργησαν καὶ ἐθεάσαντο. αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς δύο ἀναμίξας ἐνὶ τῶν τεσσάρων τετραδίων ὁ τουρμάρχης ἀποστειλάτω κατὰ τὸν προεκτεθέντα | τύπον τῆς

H 220

35 παραμονῆς, ἐγγίσει τῷ φοσσάτῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς χρεμετισμοὺς τῶν ἵππων. οἱ οὖν δύο ἄνδρες οἱ πρότερον παραμείναντες ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπλήκτοις τῷ φοσσάτῳ, ὅτε καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτῶν ἅπας συνῆν καὶ συνηπλήκευε, δυνήσονται στοχάσασθαι ἀπὸ τε τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ ὀχλαγωγίας καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ χρεμετισμοῦ τῶν ἵππων, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ χώρου ἐν ᾧ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπήξαντο. οὐ γὰρ εὔρεθῃσεται ὁ χώρος τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔχων, ὃν ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἀπλήκτοις κατεῖχον, ὅτε ἅπαντες ὁμοῦ συνηπλήκευον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δυνατόν ἐστι στοχάσασθαι καὶ κατανοῆσαι ὡς ἐπιλείπει ὁ λαὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, καὶ μὴ εἶναι σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ. καὶ πῶς

40 γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν τοῦτο στοχάσασθαι, ὅποταν ἐξ χιλιάδες ἀνδρῶν, πλεῖον ἢ ἑλασσον, καὶ ἵππων ἄχρι τῶν δώδεκα ἐπιλείπωσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, οὓς πάντας ὁμοῦ εἶναι οἱ πρῶην παραμείναντες ἐώρων καὶ κατεστοχάζοντο;

Διὰ οὖν τὸ ἀμφίβολον πρὸς τὸ καὶ τελείαν λαβεῖν τοὺς παραμέ-  
50 νοντας περὶ τούτου τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν, δεόν καὶ τοῦτο (τόν) εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν ἀποσταλέντα τουρμάρχην διαπράξασθαι. ἱππότας ὁκτῷ ἄνδρας τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένους ἀπολεξάμενος διορίσασθαι, εἴτε δεξιᾷ εἴτε εὐώνυμα ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν, ἐν ᾧ ὁ τουρμάρχης ἵσταται, ἐμπροσθεν γενέθαι τῶν πολεμίων,

55 ἀφισταμένους τῶν σκηνῶν μιλίου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ ἐμπροσθεν γενομένους ἀκριβῶς ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀναψηλαφῆσαι. καὶ εἰ ἄρα οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς διήλθον, καὶ ἄχρι τῶν διακοσίων ὑπῆρχον, διαγνώσουσι τὴν τούτων διάβασιν οἱ ἀποσταλέντες, | μήτοι γε ἄχρι τῶν δώδεκα χιλιάδων ἵπποι, πλεόν ἢ ἑλασσον. τὰ γὰρ ἔχνη τῶν το-

H 221

V f. 253

60 σούτων ἵππων, ὡς προσφάτως διελθόντων, | σαφῶς οἱ ἀποσταλέντες διαγνώσκονται, καὶ τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς τὸν τουρμάρχην ὑποστρέφοντες περὶ τούτου ἀπαγγειλάτωσαν, καὶ διὰ ποίας ὁδοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποιήσαντο. ὁ δὲ τουρμάρχης παραντίκα σπουδῇ πολλῇ τῷ στρατηγῷ καταμηνυσάτω περὶ τούτου, καὶ διὰ ποίας ὁδοῦ ἐπορεύθησαν. δεῖ οὖν  
65 τὸν στρατηγὸν πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσασθαι μετὰ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ στρατηγῶν καὶ λοιπῶν ἐμπείρων.

officers entrusted with this type of scouting are able to make an accurate determination and a truthful report to the general is that which I am about to explain.

The men assigned to this scouting of the enemy army at close range should be grouped in units of four, as described above. Those who are to do the scouting each day should take two men, very experienced and courageous, from those whom the general has detailed to do the scouting on previous days. These should be thoroughly informed by those about what they accomplished and observed the previous day. The turmarch should assign these two to one of the four units of four and send them out, in keeping with the regulations for shadowing previously set forth. They should get close enough to the camp to hear the voices of the men and the neighing of the horses. The two men who had been scouting the army in other camps when all of their people were encamped together will be able to form an estimate from the commotion and murmuring of the men, the neighing of the horses, and the area in which the raiders had pitched their tents. It will be seen that the place does not have a third of the space which the men had in their previous campsites when all the enemy troops were camping together. From this it is possible to form a good estimate of the number of enemy troops who are missing in that place and who are no longer with those in the camp. How would it be possible not to get a good estimate, when six thousand men, more or less, and their horses, up to twelve thousand, are missing from the camp, all of whom the previous scouts had observed together and so made their estimate?

Still, to resolve any doubt that these scouts might not have gotten a sure grasp of the facts of the situation, the turmarch who has been dispatched to the scouting party should also take the following steps. He should select eight good horsemen, very experienced and with excellent practical knowledge of the roads. They should be separated, either on the right or the left, from those in the rear, among whom the turmarch is stationed. They should get in front of the enemy, staying about half a mile away from their tents. Once they have gotten in front of them, they should carefully investigate and examine the roads very closely. If, indeed, enemy horsemen have ridden by, numbering up to two hundred, our scouts will realize that these men who have passed by are by no means the estimated twelve thousand or so horses. For the scouts would surely notice the tracks of so many horses if they had recently passed by. With all due speed they will return to the turmarch to inform him of this and along which road they made their advance. The turmarch should immediately and in great haste report this to the general and tell him which road they were riding along. The general ought to consult about all this with the other commanders with him and with other experienced men.



Καὶ εἰ μὲν ὅρᾳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα δύναμιν ἔχον τοῦ ἀντι-  
 παρατάσθαι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων φοσσάτῳ, πρὸς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν  
 μάχην παρασκευασθήτω, εἵγε πλησίον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ  
 70 στράτευμα, δυνάμενον τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνωθῆναι αὐτῷ. εἰ οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ  
 χώρος ἐν ᾧ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀντίζονται ὀχύρωμα ἔχων εἰς ἐκείνων ἀσφά-  
 λειαν, ἢ ῥύακα δυσδιάβατον, οὐ χρή πρὸς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύε-  
 σθαι πόλεμον. εἰ δὲ ἐφόμαλός ἐστι πανταχόθεν, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 πεζῶν δυνάμενων καταλαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου προσβολῆς,  
 75 παρασκευασθήτω πρὸς τοῦτο. εἰ δὲ ὁ χώρος ὀχυρότητα ἔχει, ὥς  
 ἔφημεν, καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στράτευμα ἐπιλείπει, δέον ὁρμήσαι τάχει  
 πολλῶ πρὸς τὸ τοὺς κουρσεύοντας τῶν πολεμίων καταλαβεῖν. καὶ  
 ἄρχοντα μὲν χρησίμον ἀποστεῖλαι τοῦ ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῶν ἰχνῶν τῶν  
 πρὸς τὴν ἐκδρομὴν τοῦ κούρσου ὁρμησάντων πολεμίων. αὐτὸς δὲ  
 80 μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκ πλαγίου περιπατῶν σπενυσάτω ὀξύτερον  
 βαδίζων πλησίον γενέσθαι, καθὼς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξεπίσταται ἐν αἷς οἱ  
 πολέμιοι περιπατοῦσι. καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας περιπατεῖτω. ἡνίκα |  
 H 222 δὲ τὸ διάφανμα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγγίση, ἀποστειλάτω βιγλάτορας εἰς  
 κατασκοπὴν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ εἰς ὑψηλοὺς βουνοὺς ἀνερχόμενοι  
 85 ἀγωνισάσθωσαν θεάσασθαι αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἡμέρας γε-  
 νομένης, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαὸν ἀποκρυπτέτω, ἵνα μὴ, τὸν κονιορτὸν αὐτοῦ  
 οἱ πολέμιοι θεασάμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐνεδρευθῇ παρ' αὐτῶν.

Καταμηνύμενος δὲ ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων τῷ κούρσῳ ἢ  
 παρὰ τῶν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ βίγλαν ἀποσταλέντων, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἢ  
 90 παράταξις ἐστὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῶν ἔχουσα, ὀλίγους  
 τινὰς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ λαβὼν ὁ στρατηγός καὶ εἰς ὑψηλὴν σκοπιὰν ἀνερ-  
 χόμενος, | σπενυσάτω οἰκείους ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράτα-  
 ξιν θεάσασθαι. ταύτην δὲ θεασάμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ  
 αὐτῶν διεσκορπίσθη πρὸς λείαν, στοχαζέσθω μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ  
 95 πλῆθος τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ ἰσχύν.  
 καὶ ἐὰν πλείον ἐστὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων, ὁρμησάτω  
 κατ' αὐτῶν, ὥς ἤδη ἀνωτέρω διετυπώσαμεν· καὶ εἰ παράσχη αὐτῷ  
 Θεὸς βοήθειαν, καὶ δυνηθῇ τὴν παράταξιν αὐτῶν τραυματίσαι καὶ  
 καταδιώξαι, μέγα ἔργον καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον ἐπιτελέσει.

100 Εἰ δὲ πλῆθός ἐστὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρατάξει, δέον  
 ἐστὶ σπουδάσαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔμπροσθεν γενέσθαι, ἐν οἷς χωρίοις  
 οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν γενό-  
 μενον. καὶ τούτων διεσκεδασμένων ἐπιτυγχάνων καὶ τῇ ἐλασίᾳ ἐκλε-  
 λυμένων καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν, εὐχερῶς τούτους κατα-  
 105 γωνίεται δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀναψηλαφῶν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις.  
 H 223 κάκεινους μὲν λόγῳ ἀνδραπόδων καταστήσει, καὶ ὥς | βούλεται τοῖς  
 κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσεται. τοὺς δὲ γεωργοὺς ἐλευθερώσει τῆς αἰχμα-  
 λωσίας, καὶ εἴ τι ἂν ἔτυχον τῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. εἰ δὲ γε καὶ φούλκῳ  
 συναντήσῃ τῷ εἰς φυλακὴν ἐπακολουθοῦντι τῶν ἐξελαυνόντων, παρα-

If the general sees that his own army is strong enough to face up to the enemy's army, let him get ready to fight against them, at least if his infantry force is close by and can join up with him that same day. Now, if the place in which the enemy are encamped is protected by a fortification or a stream which is difficult to cross, he should not prepare to attack them. But if the ground is level all around, and especially if the infantry can also get there on the day of battle, let him prepare to fight. If the place is fortified, as we said, and the infantry units are missing, he should rush with great speed to overtake the enemy raiding party. He should also send out a good officer to take up the tracks of the enemy who have been racing along to keep the raid going quickly. He himself with all his troops should march rapidly off to the side, hurrying the march to get closer, depending on how well he knows the roads on which the enemy is marching. He should advance with caution. At daybreak the general should send out scouts to spy on the enemy. They should ascend some high mountains and make a good effort to observe them. During the day the general should conceal his men, so that the enemy will not see the cloud of dust they would raise, which might lead them to ambush him instead.

After the men following the raiding party or the scouts sent out to observe report back to the general the location of the enemy battle formation which includes their commander, the general takes a few men with him and goes up to a high observation post and makes it a point to study the enemy battle line with his own eyes. After observing it, since many of their people would be scattered about plundering, he and his staff should estimate the size of the enemy battle line and the strength of his own troops. If his own army is more numerous than that of the enemy, let him attack it, as we have stipulated above. If God grants him help and he is able to inflict damage upon their line and put them to flight, he will accomplish a great and memorable deed.

If there is a large number of troops in the enemy battle formation, the general should hasten to get in front of them, in those villages in which the enemy had made their attacks, that is, from their rear. Finding them scattered about and with both themselves and their horses worn out from the riding, he should have little difficulty in beating them down and chasing them through the villages throughout the day. He will make prisoners of them and do with them as he wishes. He will free the farmers from captivity together with any property they might have taken from them. If he should meet up with a *foulkon* following along to protect the raiders, he should be

110 σκευασθήτω πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ φούλκου πόλεμον, καθὼς ἔμπροσθεν ἐξεθέμεθα, καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργία τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν μάχης κρατήσῃ.

Εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ παραμεῖναι σταλείσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐναντία ἀπηντήκασιν συναντήματα, διὰ τὸ μήπω προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τοὺς τόπους γενέσθαι ἐν οἷς τὸ φοσσάτον βλέπειν ἡδύ-  
 115 ναντο, καὶ τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν ἐνωτίζεσθαι. τὸ κούρσον αὐτῶν προεξήλθεν, ὡς ἔφημεν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν περὶ τούτου ἀκριβῆ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν. ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου συναντήματος βραδύναι καὶ χρονίσαι συνέβη τὴν πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστελλομένην βεβαίαν ἀπαγγελίαν τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστελ-  
 120 λόμενον μανδάτον. εἰ μὲν πρὸς ὥραν ἐννάτην τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἐπέκεινα καταμηνυθῇ ὁ στρατηγὸς περὶ τούτου, καὶ ὀρᾷ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ καιροῦ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ κούρσον | τῶν πολεμίων τῇ διελθούσῃ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπικρατούσης τὴν κίνησιν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς πόρρω πον γενέσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ οὐ δυνατὸν τούτους διεσκεδασμέ-  
 125 νους καταλαβεῖν, χρῆ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ φοσσάτου εὐτρεπισθῆναι πόλεμον. καὶ εἰ μὲν διημερεῦσαι βουληθῶσιν ἐν ᾧ αὐλίζονται τόπῳ, παρασκευασθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν μάχην, καθὼς ἄνωτέρω τὸν κατὰ τοῦ φοσσάτου πόλεμον γενέσθαι ἐξεθέμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν διημερεύσωσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ | χώρῳ, διὰ τὸ κατεπείγεσθαι ταῖς  
 H 224 130 ἵππικαῖς αὐτῶν δυνάμεσι ταῖς εἰς λείαν ἐκδραμούσαις τάχιον ἐνωθῆναι. καὶ ὁδοιπορούντων αὐτῶν ἐπιτυχάνων ὁ στρατηγὸς προθύμως εἰς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρμησάτω πόλεμον, καθὼς καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ τοῦ φοσσάτου διακεχωρισμένου τοῦ κούρσου προειρήκαμεν. καὶ πάντα ἐπιμελῶς ποιούντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατὰ τὴν προ-  
 135 τέραν διάταξιν, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχων βοήθειαν καὶ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ παναχράντου μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεοτόκου, μεγάλην καὶ ἀξιόλογον δουλείαν ἐπιτελέσει.

14: 9 τῇ ἀποσκευῇ Hase: τῆς ἀποσκευῆς VS || 17 ὁ De: τῷ VS || ὀφείλων De: ὀφείλονται VS || 19 ἐρχόμενον Hase: ἐρχομένῳ VS || 29 εἰς V: εἰς τὰ S || 50 τοῦτο τὸν Hase: τοῦτον VS || 74 καταλαβεῖν Hase: καταβαλεῖν VS || 126 διημερεῦσαι Hase: δισημερεῦσαι VS || 129 διημερεύσωσιν Hase: δισημερεύσωσιν VS

⟨ιε' .⟩

Περὶ ἀσφαλείας.

Δεῖ οὖν σε, (ὦ) στρατηγέ, πᾶσαν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν ἔχειν τοῦ μὴ αἰφνιδιασμὸν ὑποστῆναι, καὶ ἀδοκῆτως τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ  
 5 σοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐργάσασθαι. ἔξεις δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν,

prepared for battle against it, as we have set forth earlier, and with the help of God he will win the battle against them.

Suppose the men assigned to keep a watch on the enemy during that night should run into some obstacles. Perhaps they have not yet caught up with them or reached a place from which they could observe the enemy camp and hear the voices of the men. Perhaps, as we said, the raiding party had gone out ahead in order to obtain accurate and factual intelligence about the army. Problems such as these slowed them down and caused them to delay in reporting accurately about the matter to the general. Now, if at the ninth hour of the night or later the general should be informed about this, and he sees that the time is short, since the enemy raiding party made its move the previous day while it was still light and should have gotten a good distance away during the night, and it would not be possible to overtake them while they were scattered about, then he has to prepare to attack the main army. If they should plan to spend the whole day in the place in which they are encamped, he should make ready to fight against them, as we explained above in discussing launching an attack against an army. But they might not spend the day in the same place because they are in very much of a hurry to get together with their cavalry forces who have gone out to plunder. As they are riding along, and the general runs into them, he should energetically launch an attack against them, as we have already said in treating of the separation of the raiding party from the army on the march. If the general carries everything out carefully according to the above program, with the help of God and his holy and undefiled mother and Theotokos, he will perform a great and noteworthy service.

## 15.

### Security.

You must, General, make use of thorough security measures and be watchful so you do not fall victim to a surprise attack or let the enemy succeed in coming upon you unexpectedly. You will have security and protection if each day you send

εἶγε καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποστέλλονται παρὰ σοῦ οἱ ὀφείλοντες παραμένειν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων φροσάτῳ, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ αὐλίζονται. ἐκείνων γὰρ διὰ σπουδῆς τιθεμένων καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν καταβαλλομένων ἀδοκῆτως σοι ἐντυχεῖν, τοῦ καταγωνίσασθαι (σε) εἰς βλάβην  
 10 μὲν καὶ ἀπώλειαν τοῦ χριστωνύμου λαοῦ καὶ ἀδοξίαν τῶν κραταιοτάτων Ῥωμαίων· εἰς ἔπαρσιν δὲ καὶ γαυρίαμα τῶν ἀλαζόνων τῆς Ἀγαρ υἱῶν καὶ ἄρνητῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

Συμβαίνει γὰρ κατασχεθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῖς δεσμώτας τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἢ καὶ αὐτομόλους γενέσθαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μαθεῖν ἐν ποίῳ  
 H 225 15 τόπῳ αὐλίζῃ. ἴν' οὖν μὴ νυκτὸς | τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν ἀνελόμενοι ἐξελάσῃσι καταλαβεῖν σε. καὶ ἀδοκῆτως ἐπιπέσῃσι· διὰ ταῦτα  
 V f. 254<sup>v</sup> δέον τοὺς παραμέ|νοντας, ἥνικα τῆς ταραχῆς τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν πολεμίων αἰσθονται πρὸς κίνησιν, εὐθέως τάχει πολλῷ καταμηνύσαι, ὅτι τε ὁ λαὸς διεταράχθη πρὸς κίνημα. πάλιν δὲ ἀποκινούντων, δι' οἷας ἂν  
 20 ὁδοῦ τὴν πορείαν ποιῶνται· καὶ αὐθις καταμηνύειν ὅτι τε πλῆθος λαοῦ ἀπεκίνησαν, καὶ τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πορεύονται, εἴτε ἅπαντες σὺν τῷ πεζικῷ εἴτε οἱ ἱππεῖς μόνοι.

Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς μὴ θαρρεῖτω μόνον εἰς τὰ ἐρχόμενα πρὸς αὐτὸν μανδᾶτα τῶν παραμενόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ βίγλας ἐχέτω  
 25 διπλᾶς, ἐξώβιγλα καὶ ἐσώβιγλα, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τριπλᾶς. καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μὲν τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλάττειν, καὶ ἐν οἷς τόποις διάβασις ὑφοράται πολεμίων. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μὴ μόνον τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλάττειν τοὺς βιγλάτορας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τόπους ἀνέρχεσθαι ὑψηλοτάτους, πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς εὐχερῶς ὁρᾶν μὴ μόνον καπνοὺς καὶ κονιορτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 30 λαοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, εἴπερ ἔρχονται. πλείονας δὲ εἶναι τὰς βίγλας ἔφημεν, διὰ τό, εἴ ποτε συμβῇ τὴν πρώτην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλῶναι, ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην, τοὺς πολεμίους θεωροῦσα, τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταμηνύει ἔλευσιν.

Καὶ δις δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ μεταπληκεῦν δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐν  
 35 ἡμέρᾳ ὡσαύτως. καὶ μεταπληκεύων μὲν τοὺς βιγλάτορας μετ' αὐτοῦ λαμβανέτω· καταλιμπανέτω δὲ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἠϋλίζετο ἐξ ἀνδρας ἢ ὀκτώ, τοὺς ὑποδοχαρίους καλουμένους, μετὰ καὶ τινος ἄρχοντος τῶν χρησίμων, ἵνα οἱ πεμπόμενοι παρὰ τῶν παραμενόντων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μανδᾶτα φέροντες προσερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῶν τῷ στρατηγῷ | ἀποκομί-  
 H 226 40 ζωνται. ἐν ᾧ δὲ πάλιν τόπῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπληκεύσει, τὰ ἐξώβιγλα ἀποστελλέτω. ἔστωσαν δὲ ἀνὰ τέσσαρες ἄνδρες ἐν ἐκάστῳ σταδίῳ, ἵνα, τῶν δύο καθευδόντων νυκτὸς οἱ δύο γρηγορῶσιν.

out men to observe the enemy army closely in their campsite. For the enemy it is a matter of great importance, and they will make use of every device to assail you when you do not expect it, so that they may overwhelm you, to the harm and destruction of the people of Christ, the dishonor of the mighty Romans, and the exultation and swollen pride of the arrogant sons of Hagar,<sup>1</sup> who deny Christ our God.

It could happen that they might learn from some of our men whom they have taken prisoner, or who have even deserted to them, the place in which you are camped. Now, to prevent them from assembling their cavalry forces and riding out at night to reach you and fall upon you unexpectedly, when your scouts perceive the commotion among the enemy troops as they get ready to move, they must immediately and with great speed report that the troops are all stirred up to move. Again, when they do move out and begin their march along one of the roads, they should once more report the number of troops that has moved out and which road they are marching along, whether it be the whole army including the infantry or the cavalry alone.

The general should not rely only on reports coming to him from the scouts close to the enemy, but he should also set up double watches, outside and inside watches, and sometimes triple watches. They should guard the roads at night and the places in which he suspects the enemy may move up. Then, during the day, not only shall he have sentries guard the road but also go up to very high places, so they may have a better view of the smoke and clouds of dust, and especially if the enemy troops are coming. The reason why we stated that there should be several watches is that in case the first one happens to be captured by the enemy, the next one, on seeing them can inform the general of the approach of the enemy.

The general should change camps twice during the night and likewise during the day. When he changes camp, let him take the sentries with him. In the place in which he had been camping let him leave behind six or eight men with a good officer, who are known as the reception party. When the men who are scouting close to the enemy, then, bring in their reports, on arriving there, they will be shown the way to the general. When the general establishes himself in a new camp, he should detail outside guards. There should be about four men in each post, so that when two are sleeping at night, two can be on watch.

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<sup>1</sup>Concubine of Abraham, mother of Ismael, regarded as the ancestor of the Arabs: see Preface, note 1.

⟨ις'⟩

Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ τούλδου.

- Δεῖ οὖν σε, ⟨ὦ⟩ στρατηγέ, καὶ τοῦτο παραφυλάττειν, καὶ ἡνίκα  
 πλησιάσαι μέλλης τοῖς πολεμίοις, τὸ τούλδον ἀπὸ σοῦ διαχωρίζειν  
 5 καὶ ἀποστέλλειν μήκοθεν ἐν ὄχρῳ τόπῳ ἢ ἐν κάστρῳ, ἄνδρα τινὰ τῶν  
 V f. 255 χρησίμων καὶ ἐμπείρων ἐφιστῶν, προνοεῖσθαι | αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἵππεις  
 μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς παρέχειν τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ τούλδου,  
 ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν αἱ βίγλαι κρατῶνται εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ τούλδου. ἡνίκα  
 δὲ πάλιν ἐν χρειᾷ τούτου γένῃ, καταμηνύειν τῷ ἐμπεπιστευμένῳ τὴν  
 10 πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντι, ἐλθεῖν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ διωρίσθη τοῦ ἐνωθῆναι σοι.  
 τοῦ μέντοι τούλδου ἀπὸ σοῦ διαχωριζομένου, ἀναλαμβάνειν σε δεῖ  
 ἐπισιτισμὸν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ταγὰς τῶν ἵππων δύο ἡμερῶν ἢ τριῶν βα-  
 σταζομένας εἰς ταχεῖς ἡμιόλους, ἢ καὶ ἵππους ἐν τοῖς σαγμοσελλίοις.
- Ἡνίκα δὲ μέλλης κούρσῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀκολουθῆσαι νυκτός,  
 15 ἅπαν τὸ μάχιμον στράτευμα τεθωρακισμένον ἔστω, ἐκάστου τὸ ἐπι-  
 τήδειον πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὄπλον ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
 λεγόμενον σάκα ὀπισθεν ἔχε ἐπακολουθῶν σοι. καὶ εἰ μὲν διὰ δυσ-  
 βάτων τόπων ἢ πορείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων γένηται, δέον ἰδίως ἐν ἑκαστῷ  
 H 227 θέμα ἢ καὶ τάγμα, εἰ πάρεισιν, ὁδοιπορεῖν· ὁ μὲν | στρατηγὸς ἔμπρο-  
 20 σθεν ἐπόμενος τῷ τουρμάρχη τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ  
 πολὺ πόρρῳ. εἴθ' οὕτως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, εἴτε θέματα εἴεν εἴτε τάγματα,  
 καθὲν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἐφεπόμενον, διὰ τὸ καὶ καλῶς ὁδοιπορεῖν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ  
 ἄνευ κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβων. τῷ δὲ τουρμάρχη τῷ ἐπακολουθοῦντι τῷ  
 κούρσῳ παραγγεῖλαι καὶ ἐξασφαλίσασθαι ἀκρίβειαν ἔχειν ὑπερ-  
 25 βάλλουσιν καὶ ἐγρήγορσιν, μὴ ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐπακο-  
 λουθεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ σοῦ, διαχωρίσωσι μὲν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτῶν  
 μαχίμους τοὺς πλείονας τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαοῦ, καὶ ἀποκρύψωσιν εἰς  
 λόχους, καὶ ἀδοκῆτως κατὰ σοῦ ἐπίθωνται, ἐπειδὴ τοιαύτην ἐνέδραν  
 παρὰ τῶν Ταρσιτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χωρίοις γενομένην εἶδομεν. τοῦ γὰρ  
 30 στρατηγοῦ τότε θεωμένου κονιορτοὺς τῶν εἰς λείαν ἐξελαυνόντων,  
 οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν σχήματι κούρσου, ὀλίγων καὶ τούτων εὐτελε-  
 στέρων, καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπειγομένου καὶ τοῦ τουρμάρχου  
 (τοῦ) ἐπακολουθοῦντος τῷ κούρσῳ καταμελήσαντος, καὶ μὴ τοὺς λό-  
 χους καλῶς ἐρευνήσαντος, ἀδοκῆτως τῷ ἐγκρύμματι περιπέπτωκε.
- 35 Καὶ ἵνα μὴ τοιοῦτον γένηται, δεῖ σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, πολλὴν τὴν  
 V f. 255' ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐρευνᾶν τοὺς κοίλους | τῶν τόπων καὶ ἀπο-  
 κρύφων διὰ καβαλλαρίων ἵππους ἐχόντων ταχεῖς καὶ ἀκριβῆ εἶδησιν  
 τῶν τόπων· καὶ περὶ τὸ διάφραγμα διχῇ διελεῖν τὸ στράτευμα, εἴγε εἰς  
 πλῆθός ἐστι, καὶ εἰς τρεῖς ἀριθμεῖται χιλιάδας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν παριπ-  
 40 παράτους καὶ τὰς ταγὰς τῶν ἵππων ἐπιφερομένους μήκοθεν ἀποστέλ-  
 λειν ἐν ὄχρῳ τόπῳ. τὰς δὲ παρατάξεις οὕτως δεῖ | παρασκευάσαι διὰ

## 16.

## Separating from the baggage train.

You must be sure to observe this, General. When you are getting close to the enemy, you should separate the baggage train and send it far off to a fortified place or a fortress. Name a competent and experienced man to be in charge and to be responsible for it. This commander of the baggage train should also be provided with a few combat-ready horsemen to augment the guards assigned to protect the train. When you need it again, inform the officer entrusted with its responsibility, so he may come to join you in a designated place. After the baggage train has separated from you, you should gather provisions for the troops and fodder for the horses, enough for two or three days, and have them transported on fast mules or in saddlebags on the horses.

When you intend following a raiding party of the enemy at night, the entire fighting force should have its armor on, and each man should have his proper weapon in hand ready for battle. Be sure, moreover, to have the so-called *saka* following along behind you. Now, if the enemy's route takes them through difficult terrain, then each theme, or even tagma,<sup>1</sup> if present, ought to march separately. The general ought to go on ahead but behind the turmarch who is following the enemy a good distance further on. In this manner then the rest of the force, whether they be from the themes or tagmatic, should follow along one after the other, and they will march smoothly during the night without noise or confusion. Orders should be given to the turmarch following the raiding party to be very cautious, in fact, to be overly cautious and alert, so that if the enemy ever perceive that they are being followed by you, they might have picked fighting men, more than the turmarch has under his command, move out and hide themselves in an ambush and unexpectedly attack you. We remember an ambush of this sort made by the people of Tarsus in the villages further on. The general at that time observed clouds of dust from the troops riding out to plunder. But it was not a real raiding party, only a simulated one composed of a few worthless men. He pressed on to attack them, but the turmarch following the raiding party had been negligent and had not done a good job of looking out for ambushes, and quite unawares the general fell right into one.

To prevent anything of this sort happening to you, General, you must take every precaution. Have some cavalymen with swift horses and who thoroughly know the region investigate the hollows and other hiding places in the area. About daybreak divide the army in two if it is large and numbers up to three thousand. Send the grooms and the men carrying the fodder for the horses away to a strong



τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἀδοκίμους ἐνέδρας. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἐχέτω ἀρχηγὸν τῶν ἀξιολογωτέρων στρατηγῶν, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τοῦ ὑπὸ σε λαοῦ, καὶ ὅπισθεν μὲν τοῦ τουρμάρχου ὁδοιπορεῖτω. σὺ δὲ μετὰ τῆς  
 45 μεγάλης παρατάξεως ἐπακολούθει τῇ πρώτῃ, ἔχων καὶ τὸ σάκα ὅπισθεν σου μετ' ὀλίγων ἱππέων ἐπακολουθοῦν· ἵνα, εἰ συμβῇ κατὰ σου ἐνεδρεῦσαι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς πλείονας αὐτῶν μαχίμους ἀνδρας εἰς λόχους καταστήσαι, καὶ ἐπελθεῖν τῷ αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθοῦντι τουρμάρχει, δέξηται τοῦτον ἐπιβοηθοῦσα ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἔμπροσθεν  
 50 σου περιπατοῦσα παράταξις. εἴτα πολέμου μετ' αὐτῆς συρραγέντος, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων διασκορπιζομένων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὴν τάξιν λύνοντων, εὐρῶν αὐτοὺς διεσκεδασμένους ὑπερισχύσεις αὐτῶν.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐνέδραν μὴ παρασκευασθέντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ τὰς χώρας ληϊσασθαι κατε-  
 55 πειγομένων, χρή πρὸ τοῦ διανγᾶσαι τὰς τάξεις τοῦ ὑπὸ σε στρατεύματος εἰς τόπους ἀποκρύψαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις φωραθῆναι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐγκρύμμασι καρτερῆσαι ἄχρι τρίτης ὥρας ἢ καὶ τετάρτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἕως ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς λείαν ἐξελάσωσι. καὶ τούτων πόρρω γινομένων τῆς τοῦ Ἀμηνῶ παρατάξεως μετ' ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν καταλιμπανομένης, καὶ μὴ πλήθος ἐχούσης λαοῦ, κατ' αὐτῆς  
 60 ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν παρατάξεις ἀποστεῖλαι ἰσομετώπους προσβαλεῖν πόλεμον. σὲ δὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων τριῶν ἢ καὶ τεσσάρων παρατάξεων ταῖς πρώταις ἐπόμενον πλησίον ἐπακολουθεῖν. καὶ ἡνίκα αἱ πρώται παρατάξεις τῆς ἐκ χειρῶν μάχης ἄρξωνται, καθὼς ὀρᾷ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγωνιζομένους, | οὕτω καὶ βοήθειαν παρέχειν.  
 f. 256 65 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἐνθεν κἀκεῖθ' ἐν σου συνεπομένας παρατάξεις προαποστεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις συναφθῆναι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου προσβάλλειν, καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι· εἴτα  
 229 καὶ σε αὐτόν, εἰ χρή, συμβαλεῖν, εἴπερ ἄρα μὴ ἐπικρατέστερος ὁ ὑπὸ σε λαὸς γέγονεν. ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγου λαοῦ, ὡς ἔφημεν, τῆς παρατάξεως τοῦ Ἀμηνῶ καταλιμπανομένης, οὐ δυνήσεται ἀντισχεῖν περὶ τὰς τρεῖς χιλιάδας τὸ ὑπὸ σε ἀριθμούμενον στράτευμα. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἡ πείρα διδάσκει ἐκτίθεμεν· σὲ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κατεπεΐγουσαν τοῦ καιροῦ χρεῖαν τε καὶ περίστασιν διατεθῆναι δεῖ. οὐ γὰρ ἡ παρά-  
 75 δοσις δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνισχύσει βοήθεια, ἢ τοῦ πολέμου ἑκβασίς ἐπακολουθεῖ.

Εἰ δὲ μετὰ μόνου τοῦ ἰδίου θέματος ὑπάρχεις, ὦ στρατηγέ, καὶ ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ σε στράτευμα, καὶ ὡσαύτως δεῖ σε μετ' ἀσφαλείας πόρρω τὴν τοῦ κούρσου τῶν πολεμίων ἀκολουθήσιν ποιεῖσθαι,  
 80 πρὸς τὸ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιγνωσθῆναι, καὶ κατὰ μόνων τῶν εἰς τὰ χωρία ἐξελαυνόντων καὶ διασκορπιζομένων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιεῖσθαι, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω δεδηλωται.

place. In the event of unexpected ambushes laid by the enemy, the battle formation ought to be set up in the following manner. Let the first have as its commander one of the more outstanding generals and a third of the troops in your army, and he should march behind the *turmarch*. You follow the first with the main part of the formation, keeping the *saka* following behind you with a few horsemen. If it happens that the enemy lie in wait for you and station large numbers of their fighting men in ambuscades, and attack the *turmarch* following them, the first formation, the one marching ahead of you, will come to his support. Then when battle has been joined with them, the enemy become scattered about in the fighting and break ranks. When you find them dispersed like this, you will overwhelm them.

But when the enemy have not prepared themselves for an ambush of this sort, and are anxious only to ride out and ravage the countryside, then before dawn you should conceal the units of your army in places where they will not be visible to the enemy. They should stay in these ambuscades until the third or fourth hour of the day, until the enemy have ridden out to plunder. Once they are a good distance away from the emir's battle formation, in which there are only a few men left, not many at all, then attack it. First send out three formations of equal size to begin the onslaught. You should remain with the other three or four formations following closely along behind the first three. When these three begin the fighting in close, as you see your own men struggling, so you should provide support. First of all, have the formations following along on either side of you advance to join battle with the enemy, attacking, if possible, from the wings and the flank and fight hand to hand. Then, if necessary, you yourself should attack if your troops are not, in fact, proving the stronger. Actually, though, with only a few troops, as we said, left in the emir's battle line, it will not be able to make a stand against your army which numbers about three thousand. All this we are setting forth as experience teaches. It is up to you to apply it to circumstances and the urgent needs of the time. For tradition alone does not do it, but it must be reinforced by the assistance of God, and only then will the outcome of the battle be assured.

If you are present with only your own theme, General, and the force under your command is a small one, then you should follow the raiding party of the enemy cautiously at a good distance, to avoid being detected by them. You should launch your attacks only against those charging into the villages and spreading about, as explained above.

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<sup>1</sup> Theme is the province or, in this case, the army of the province. Tagma here designates a unit of the regular standing army, usually based around Constantinople, but which would join the thematic army on campaign.

16: 3 ὦ Hase: om. VS || 17 ὀπισθεν De: ὀπιθεν VS || 27 λαοῦ Hase: λαόν VS || 33 τοῦ Hase: om. VS || 37 εἶδῃσιν Hase: εἶσδησιν VS || 39 περιππαράτους De: περιππαράτους VS || 57 ἐν Hase: ἐκ VS

⟨ιζ'⟩

Περὶ τῶν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρεχόντων πολεμίων  
τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς μετὰ ἐγκρυμμάτων παρασκευῆς.

Εἰ δέ γε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἅπαν, ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἄθροισμα  
5 μετὰ μεγάλης καὶ βαρείας δυνάμεως τὰς ἡμῶν χώρας ἐξελθὼν ἐπι-  
τρέχει τε καὶ ληΐζεται, καὶ ἐμβαθύνεται καὶ διερευνήσασθαι ταύτας  
H 230 διαμελετᾷ. εἰ τύχῃ δὲ καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν κατὰ | τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν  
στράτευμα ἐπισυνηγμένον εἶναι, καὶ τὴν τούτου παρουσίαν ἀκου-  
τισθῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν πολλὴν τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ ποιούν-  
10 ται, μὴ ἐὼντές τινας φυλακῆς ἄνευ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις διασκορπίζεσθαι.  
ἐνέδρας δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου λαοῦ ἐξεργάζεσθαι μηχαν-  
νῶνται, καὶ καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀδοκῆτως σπεύδουσι, διώξαι τε καὶ  
V f. 256\* καταγωνίσασθαι. ὀφείλεις καὶ αὐτὸς πᾶσαν ἀσφάλειαν | ἐπιδεί-  
κνυσθαι τοῦ μὴ ἀδοκῆτως εὐρεθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀντιμηχανήσασθαι  
15 δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ αὐτοὺς τροπώσασθαι, καὶ γενναῖόν τι καὶ ἀξιό-  
λογον ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν τραυματιζομένων παρὰ σοῦ, οὐδαμῶς  
χρονίσουσι τὰς ἡμετέρας χώρας ληϊζόμενοι.

Χρεῶν οὖν ἐστί σοι, διασκοπῆσαι χωρία ἐπιτήδεια ἐν οἷς οἱ  
ἐκτρέχοντες τῶν πολεμίων εἰσέρχονται τροφῶν καὶ λαφύρων ἀνα-  
20 ψηλαφήσεως ἔνεκα, καὶ λόχον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱππικὸν καταστήσασθαι τὸν  
κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσθαι μέλλοντα. ἔστωσαν δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ εἰς τὸν  
λόχον ἀποστελλόμενοι τῶν διακοσίων ἐπέκεινα ἀρχηγὸν ἔχοντες ἀν-  
δρεῖον, καὶ πάνν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνέδρας ἐμπειρότατον.

Ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου στρατεύματος ἀρχηγός ἐξ ἧ πέντε χιλιάδας ἱπ-  
25 πῶν ἔχων πολεμιστὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν, οὐ πλειόνων ἐν  
χρεῖα γενήσεται.

Ταύτας τοίνυν διχῇ διελὼν τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἔμπροσθεν εἰς  
ἐπιτήδειον λόχον καταστησάτω, ἐν ᾧ καὶ σκοπιά ἐστὶν ὑψηλὴ ἀπό-  
βλεψιν ἔχουσα, τοῦ μήκοθεν τοὺς διωκομένους τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
30 διώκοντας ὁρᾶν. ὀπισθεν δὲ τῶν δισχιλίων τοὺς τρισχιλίους, καὶ  
πεζὸν στράτευμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τόπῳ εἰς ἐνέδραν κατα-  
στήσασθαι δεῖ, τοῦ τόπου ὀχυρότητα ἔχον|τος. εἰ τύχῃ δὲ καὶ κάστρον  
H 231 πλησίον, ἔξει κἀκεῖνο βοήθειαν. μὴ σκοπεῖτω δὲ ὁ στρατηγός μηδὲ  
κατὰ νοῦν τοῦτο ἐχέτω, ἐὰν πλήθῃ πολεμίων ἐπιτεθῶσιν αὐτῷ καὶ

## 17.

When the enemy ride into our country with a large force. Preparing an ambush.

If the entire enemy army, cavalry and infantry, gets together and with great and heavy force breaks out into our country, riding about and plundering, and if it is planning to penetrate more deeply and search around more thoroughly, and if it should happen that the Roman army has been gathering at about the same time, and the enemy are made to hear about its presence, they will exercise great caution with their troops, not allowing any of them to scatter about in the villages without protection. They will then devise ways of setting up ambushes against our own people and will strive to take them by surprise, pursue, and overwhelm them. For your part, you have to display the utmost caution so that you will not be caught by surprise by them, and in turn you must devise countermeasures to defeat them. You will accomplish something noble and memorable. Once they have been injured by you, in no way will they spend time plundering our lands.

It is your task, therefore, to reconnoiter likely locations in which the invading enemy will ride in search of food and booty. Station mounted ambuscades in those places, all set to charge out against them. Let the number of horsemen assigned to the ambush be over two hundred, and their commander should be brave and have a great deal of experience with ambushes of this sort. The commander of the whole army who has five or six thousand warlike horsemen and the assistance of God will not need anything more.

This army should be divided in two. Two thousand should be stationed further ahead in a suitable ambuscade that has a high observation post with a good view, so he can see his men far off being pursued and pursuing. Behind the two thousand should be the three thousand, and the infantry units with them ought to be posted in a concealed place, which has some natural protection, as an ambush. If there happens to be a fortified town nearby, that will be helpful to him. But even if the general is attacked by a large number of the enemy and the fighting becomes fierce, he

35 σφοδρὸς γένηται πόλεμος, ἔνδοθεν τοῦ κάστρου γενέσθαι πρὸ τοῦ τὸν ἴδιον περισῶσαι λαόν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἀδοξίαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλάβην ἐπάγει καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀφανισμόν καὶ πανολεθρίαν. ἀλλ' ἔξωθεν ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι τοῖς πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου μετὰ τοῦ πεζικοῦ στρατεύματος ἰσχυρῶς ἀντιμαχέσθω ἀνάγκη πε-  
40 ριπεσών, ἅτε πολλήν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου ἔχων βοήθειαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ κάστρου πεζὸν λαὸν εἰς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῦ.

Ὁ οὖν ἀρχηγὸς τῶν τριακοσίων, τῶν εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀποσταλέντων, εἰς περιωπὴν ἰστάμενος καὶ ὁρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις εἰσερχομένους, ἥνίκα τῶν ἵππων ἀποβάαντες τὰς οἰκίας  
45 τῶν χωρίτων ἀναψηλαφῶσιν, ἑκατὸν καὶ μικρόν τι πλέον ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν τριακοσίων διαχωρίσας ἀποστείλῃ, διορισάμενος αὐτοῖς ὁξέως κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέσθαι. πλείονες δὲ ἔστωσαν οἱ ἀποστελλόμενοι τῶν εἰς τὰ χωρία εἰσερχομένων πολεμίων. καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπιθέμενοι χάριτι Χριστοῦ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀνελῶσι, καὶ  
50 δεσμώτας λάβωσιν. οἱ δὲ περιττεύοντες τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν, ὅσοι τῶν πολεμίων τῶν ἰδίων ἵππων ἐπιβῆναι δυνηθῶσι καὶ φνῆγῃ χρήσονται, ἐπιμελῶς τούτους ἐπιδιώξουσιν ἕως ἂν παρὰ τῶν φούλκων τῶν πολεμίων, τῶν ἰσταμένων εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτῶν, ἐπιδιωχθῶσιν. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἀρχων μὴ εἰς πλήθος ὄντας,  
55 ἀλλ' ἀσυντάκτως καὶ ἀκρατῶς διώκοντας καρτερησάτω ἐν τῷ ἐγκρύμματι, ἕως οὗ οἱ διωκόμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καταλάβωσι καὶ διέλθωσιν. εἰθ' οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς σφοδρῶς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ὀρμησάτω, καὶ εὐοδωθήσεται τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι. λήψεται γὰρ καὶ δορυα-  
60 λώτους, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναιρήσει καὶ τραυματίσει.

Τῶν οὖν πολεμίων ἔτι προστιθεμένων καὶ εἰς πλήθος αὐξανόμενων, καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐπιδιωκόντων, τοὺς μὲν κατασχεθέντας δεσμίους, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπλα ἔμπροσθεν ἀποστείλῃ, τοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἵσταται. κἀκεῖνος εὐτάκτως ὑπο-  
65 φευγέτω μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐρεθίζων τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς δίωξιν καὶ ἐμπείρως ἐφελκόμενος. μηδεὶς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ γινωσκέτω ἐν οἷς τόποις τὰ ἐγκρύμματα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἵστανται, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἀρχων αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐπιτιθεμένων αὐτῷ μετὰ πλήθους λαοῦ καὶ ἀκρατῶς διωκόντων, ὑποστροφὰς ποιείτωσαν οἱ ὄντες ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ  
70 γενναῖότατοι, καὶ ἵππους εὐτόνους ἔχοντες καὶ πληττέτωσαν τοὺς διώκοντας· ἵνα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας τῶν ἰδίων διασώσωσιν καὶ ἵππων ἀτονούντων ἢ καὶ πληττομένων ἐτέρων ἐπιβῆναι παρασκευάσωσιν. εἰθ' οὕτως ἐπιδιδόντας τοὺς χαλινούς τῶν ἵππων μετ' ἐλασσίας μακρυνθῶσι μικρόν τῶν διωκόντων. ἵνα καὶ τοῦ βάρους τοῦ ἐπικειμένου  
75 αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων μικρόν κουφισθῶσι, κἀκεῖνοι ὀξύτερον τοὺς ἵππους ἐλαύνοντες πρὸς δίωξιν ἀτόνους καὶ λειποψυχούντας ἐργάζονται. ἐγγιζόντων δὲ τῷ ἐγκρύμματι τῶν διωκομένων τοῦ λαοῦ

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V f. 257<sup>v</sup>

should never even think of getting inside the fortified town before he has seen to the safety of his own people. For that would not only be dishonorable and despicable but would lead to damage and the devastation and utter destruction of the country. But if he has fallen into serious trouble, then outside in the strong places near the fortress he and his infantry should fight back strenuously. He should be greatly helped by the terrain, and he also has the support of the foot soldiers in the fortified town.

The commander, then, of the three hundred men who had been dispatched to guard the villages may stand in an observation post and see the enemy riding into the villages. When they dismount and start searching through the houses of the villagers, then he should take a few more than a hundred out of his three hundred men and send them off with orders to attack the enemy vigorously. The men sent on this mission should outnumber the enemy raiding the village. They should fall upon them and, by the favor of Christ, they should kill many and take many prisoners. Those of the enemy who have been able to get back on their own horses will take to flight. The rest of our men should then carefully pursue them, until they are chased by the units of the enemy posted to protect their comrades. If our man commanding the three hundred notices that those pursuers are not numerous and are carrying out the pursuit in a disorderly and undisciplined manner, then he should wait in the hiding places until his own men who are being chased arrive and pass by. Then he should ride out fiercely from the hiding place and, with his troops, charge upon them, and, by the power and favor of Christ, he will be successful. He will take prisoners, and he will kill and wound many of the enemy.

Should more of the enemy arrive and their numbers keep increasing, and should they carry out their pursuit more vigorously, then he ought to send the prisoners he has taken, along with their horses and weapons, on ahead to the place where the general is stationed. In good order, then, he and his men should withdraw, provoking the enemy to chase them and skillfully drawing them along. None of his people should know the places in which the general is lying in ambush, but only the commander. Should a large number of the enemy attack him and should their pursuit be disorderly, he should have some of his men, brave, outstanding, and with vigorous horses, wheel about and strike the pursuers. This will allow him to get his own wounded to safety and let the men whose horses have become weary or wounded mount others. Then, giving rein to their horses, they ride faster to put a little more distance between themselves and their pursuers. In this way they obtain a little relief from the constant pressure of the enemy on them. The enemy, for their part, will spur their horses on in pursuit, which will only make them weary and faint. Then, as our people who are being pursued approach the ambushade, let them pass to the

H 233 ἡμῶν, εἴτε δεξιᾷ εἴτε εὐώνυμα διελθέτωσαν, ἵνα τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος  
 80 ἐξερχομένου μὴ κατὰ τόπον αὐτοῖς συναντήσωσι καὶ ἀλλή|λους  
 παραβλάψωσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν διωκομένων σὺν αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἐν τῷ  
 ἐγκρύμματι ὑποστρεφόντων. καὶ ἐκ δύο μερῶν τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτῶν κατὰ  
 τῶν πολεμίων γινομένης, εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρα-  
 τοῦ γενήσεται.

Ἔστω δὲ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος ἐπιτήδειος πρὸς τὸ καλῶς  
 85 αὐτοὺς ἀποκρύνπειν· στένωμα δὲ ἢ δυσχωρίαν εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον μηδαμῶς  
 ἔχεται, ἀλλ' ἐφόμαλος ἔστω καὶ εὐρύχωρος, μὴδὲν παρεμποδίζων τὴν  
 κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτῶν ὁρμὴν καὶ ὀξείαν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ μάλιστα  
 περὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους ὄντων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοσούτου ἀριθμοῦ πλατεῖαν καὶ  
 εὐθείαν εἶναι δεῖ τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ τοιούτου χωρίου. καὶ ἡ περιωπὴ δὲ ἐν  
 90 ἣ ἵσταται βλέπων ὁ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐγκρύμματι ἀρχηγὸς ἐπι-  
 τηδεῖα ἔστω, ὥστε καθορᾶν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ διαστήματος τοὺς διώκοντας  
 πολεμίους, καὶ τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν στοχάζεσθαι καὶ κατα-  
 νοεῖν, καὶ ὅπως τὴν δίωξιν ποιοῦνται. ἐγγισάντων δὲ τῶν διωκόντων  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκρύμματι, ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν, ὅξει καὶ  
 95 σφοδροτάτῳ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ ὁρμήματι μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ  
 κατ' αὐτῶν ὁρμησάτωσαν, ὑποστρεφέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι.  
 καὶ ἐκ δύο μερῶν τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων γεγεννημένης,  
 εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατοῦ γενήσεται. καὶ εἰ  
 ἀκολουθῶς πάντα κατὰ τὸν παρόντα πραχθεῖη διορισμὸν, ἔχοντες  
 100 πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν συνεφαπτομένην αὐτοῖς, οἷα  
 τότε καταστροφὴ καὶ ὄλεθρος τῶν πολεμίων γενήσεται, οἱ πείραν  
 τῶν τοιούτων ἔχοντες ἴσασι. καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἄρα, τῶν ἵππων τῇ μακρᾷ  
 H 234 καὶ συντόνῳ διώξει ἡτονηκότων, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ πολλῷ πόνῳ | τῆς  
 μάχης ἐκλελοιπότες, οὐ τὰ κακῶν ἔσχατα τούτοις συμβήσεται;

105 Εἰ δέ, ὅπερ πάντῃ ἀνέλπιστόν ἐστιν, ἰσχύσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι  
 V f. 258 ἀντιστῆναι, πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πολέμῳ | παρα-  
 γενομένης, καὶ καρτερὰ μάχῃ γένηται πανστρατὶ αὐτῶν μαχομένων,  
 διὰ τὸ τὴν ἥτταν αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσασθαι, καὶ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον  
 τοῦτο συμβῆ, δεῖ τὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀρχηγὸν ἀπὸ συνθήματός τινος καὶ  
 110 διορισμοῦ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἀνακλητικῆς διαχωρίσαι τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς  
 ἐκ χειρῶν μάχης, νῶτα διδόντων αὐτῶν—πλὴν μὴ σὺν ἐλασίᾳ καὶ  
 φυγῇ ἀκόσμῳ ἀλλ' εὐτάκτως—ἐρεθίζειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς δίω-  
 ξιν. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν παρατάξεων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ διωκουσῶν,  
 τῇ μείζονι ἐνέδρᾳ περιπεσοῦνται. καὶ διωκόμενοι ἐν ἐνὶ μέρει τῆς ἐν-  
 115 ἐδρας, ὡς ἔφημεν, διερχόμενοι, ὁπότεν κατ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ  
 ἐνέδρᾳ ὄντες ὁρμήσωσιν, ὑποστρεφέσθωσαν παραντίκα καὶ οἱ δι-  
 ωκόμενοι, καὶ εὐρεθήσονται ἐκ δύο μερῶν τοῖς πολεμίους μαχόμενοι·  
 καὶ πολλὴν τοῦτο τῷ στρατῷ προξενίσει τὴν ὠφέλειαν. εἰ οὖν οἱ δι-  
 ωκοντες ἄχρι τῆς ἐνέδρας καταλάβωσι, καὶ ἀπροόπτως ταύτῃ πε-  
 120 ριπέσωσι, καὶ πολμηρῶ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ ὁρμήματι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος

right or the left, so that when the men in ambush charge out at that place they will not run into them and end up injuring one another. After this the troops being pursued should join with those in the ambush and wheel around. Having the attack against the enemy come from two sides will obviously be to the advantage of our army.

Let the site of the ambush be such as to provide a good hiding place for our soldiers. The exit must not be narrow at all or the ground rough but level and broad, so nothing will obstruct their charge and swift attack against the enemy. This is particularly important if about two thousand men are involved. For so many men the exit in such a place has to be wide and straight. The observation post in which the commander of the troops in the ambush is stationed should be suitable for observing the enemy in pursuit at a great distance, estimating the number of their troops, and studying the way in which they are making the pursuit. When they come close to the ambush, then our men invoke the aid of God and with shouts and war cries charge out with great force, speed, and courage against them. Our men who were being pursued wheel about, so that the enemy are attacked from two sides, which is clearly to the advantage of our army. If everything is carried out in accord with the present instructions and, most important, with the assistance of God, then the enemy will be overthrown and destroyed. Anyone with experience in these matters knows this. For with the horses worn out from a long and intensive pursuit and the men so fatigued from the strenuous labor of fighting, how can they possibly avoid the worst of evils?

But if, and we certainly do not hope for it, the enemy are strong enough to hold their ground and bring all their strength to bear in such a struggle, and the battle keeps going as they fight with their whole army, trying to come back from defeat, which would be contrary to our plans, the commander of the army must by some sort of prearranged signal or command or by the trumpet sounding retreat withdraw his own men from the close fighting, have them turn their backs, but not in haste or in disorderly flight but in good order, and so provoke the enemy to pursuit. Then, as the enemy lines press on chasing them, they will fall right into the larger ambush. Our men who are being pursued should, as we said, ride by on one side of the hiding place, then, when the troops in the large ambush charge out, our men being pursued should immediately wheel about, and they will find themselves battling the enemy from two sides. This will, of course, prove greatly advantageous to our army. If the pursuers, therefore, get as far as the ambush and unexpectedly fall right into it, and our troops charge out from the hiding place boldly and



κατ' αὐτῶν ἐφορμήσωσι, τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι κατὰ κράτος τούτους ἡττήσουσι, καὶ μέγα κλέος ἑαυτοῖς περιποιήσονται.

Εἰ δὲ διὰ τινὰ σφάλματα μὴ τελέως δυνηθῶσι τῶν παρατάξεων τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιγενέσθαι, ὥς δύναμιν βαρεῖαν ἐχόντων καὶ ἰσχυρῶς  
 125 πανστρατὶ αὐτῶν μαχομένων, ἔχων καὶ τὸ πεζῶν στράτευμα συμ-  
 μαχοῦν σοι, σὺ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ὑπερισχύσεις. καὶ εἰ μὴ κατὰ κράτος  
 H 235 ἡττηθῶσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν μαχαίρας ἔργον | ποιήσεις,  
 πλείονας δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ κατάσχησιν, καὶ φόβῳ με-  
 γάλῳ καὶ καταπλήξει ὑποβληθῶσιν· ὥς μηκέτι τολμᾶν ἀδεῶς τὰς  
 130 χώρας αὐτῶν κατατρέχειν καὶ ληΐζεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ σπεύσουσι τὴν  
 ἰδίαν καταλαβεῖν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, καθὼς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου ἐμπειρία, συνεγραψάμεθα. σοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἰκὸς  
 ἐπερχομένην περίστασιν προσήκει διαγενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὡς αἱ τῶν  
 135 ἀνθρώπων βουλαί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ ἄνωθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια τὰ καθ' ἑκα-  
 στον ταλαντεύσῃ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἔπεται πέρας. |

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17: 8 τούτου Hase: τούτων VS || 21 ἐπιθέσθαι Hase: ἐθέσθαι VS || 30 ὁρᾶν V: ὁρᾶν ὁρᾶν S || 32 δεῖ Hase: δηλαδὴ VS || 35 πρὸ τοῦ Hase: πρὸς τὸ V: πρὸ τὸ S || 49 ἀνελῶσι V: ἀνελῶσι καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπιθέμενοι χάριτι Χριστοῦ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀνελῶσι S || 52 ἐπιδιώξουσιν Hase: ἐπιδιώξουσιν τῶν ἱσταμένων VS || 53 τῶν ἱσταμένων Hase: om. VS || 55 ἀλλ' ἀσυντάκτως Hase: ἀλλὰ συντάκτως VS || 60 ἀναιρήσει Hase: ἀνερρηνήσει VS || 62 ἐπιδιωκόντων Hase: ἐπιωκόντων VS || 79 τόπον Hase: πον VS || 89 εὐθεῖαν Hase: εὐθὴ VS || χωρίου Hase: χώρου VS || 109 στρατοῦ V: στρατηγού S || 125 συμμαχοῦν De: συμμαχοῦντι VS || scr. alia m. sum. pag. ὁμοῦ ὅλα ὅλα τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τὰ φύλα διακόσια εὐδομίκοντα καὶ γ'

V f. 258<sup>v</sup>

⟨ιη' .⟩

Περὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ δύο μερῶν  
 τῶν πολεμίων παραδρομὴν ποιῆσαι.

Εἰ δὲ ἔτι ἐπιμείνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅπερ ἀνέλπιστόν ἐστι μετὰ  
 5 τὸ οὕτως τραυματισθῆναι, τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν φοσσατικῶς περιπο-  
 λούντες, κατακαίοντές τε καὶ διαφθείροντες, μηδαμοῦ εἰς κούρσον  
 μήκοθεν τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν τολμῶντες ἀποστέλλειν, χρὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν  
 ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν εἰς τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῶν πολεμίων ἀποστεῖλαι, ἐν  
 ᾧ αὐτὸς μὴ παρατρέχει. καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων μυλίων τοῦ  
 10 φοσσάτου παρεκτρέχουσιν ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ τραυματί-  
 ζειν, πρὸς τὸ διακωλύειν αὐτοὺς τροφὰς ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἵνα ὡς ἐκ  
 τούτου σπᾶνιν ἔχοντες τροφῶν ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑποστρέψαι.

Εἰ δὲ ὁρᾶς, ὦ στρατηγέ, τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτι ἑαυτοὺς παραφυλάτ-

bravely against them, then, by the favor of Christ, they will utterly defeat them and will achieve great glory for themselves.

But if some blunders keep them from completely overcoming the battle formations of the enemy, since they might have a very strong force and their whole army might be battling fiercely, yet if you have an infantry force fighting along with you, it is you who will prevail over them. Even if they are not utterly defeated, nonetheless, you will put many of them to the sword, more of them you will hold as captives, and they will be bowled over by great fear and terror. The result will be that they will never dare to ride through and ravage our lands with impunity. They will, instead, be in a hurry to get back to their own land.

In conclusion, then, we have done our part by writing down these things just as our predecessors handed them on to us, as well as from our own experience, which goes back a long time. It is up to you, now, to apply it to the circumstances that are likely to arise. The outcome of war is not brought about according to the will of men but, just as the affairs of each one are weighed, by the providence of God on high.

## 18.

When it is necessary for the general to skirmish  
against the enemy from two sides.

If the enemy are still around, which one would not expect after they have been so severely mauled, and if they are wandering about our country in organized bands, burning things down and destroying but not at all daring to send their men out to any distance for raiding, then the general ought to send a sizeable force to the other side of the enemy, the side on which he is not marching. When some of the enemy ride by about three or four miles from their army, this detachment should attack and harass them here and there in order to prevent them from gathering food. When food becomes scarce, they may be compelled to turn back.

If you notice, General, the enemy still on their guard, not allowing their men

15 τοντας, καὶ μὴ πόρρῳ ἐξελαύνειν τοὺς εἰς συλλογὴν χρειῶν ἀποστελ-  
 λομένους παραχωροῦντας, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐνέδραν εἰς βλάβην αὐτῶν  
 H 236 ἐπινοήσασθαι δεῖ. τὰ φοῦλκα διασκοπῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων τὰ εἰς φυ-  
 λακὴν αὐτῶν ἐξερχόμενα καὶ πόρρῳ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἰστάμενα. καὶ  
 οἷον ἐξ αὐτῶν βραδύτερον ὑποστρέφει εἰς τὰς σκηναὺς αὐτῶν, ἴσως  
 20 καρτεροῦν ἕως οὗ οἱ τὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν χωρία ἀνερευνῶντες ἐταῖροι  
 αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς σκηναὺς αὐτῶν ὑποστρέψουσιν, κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεδρεῦσαι  
 ἐπείχθητι. καὶ δι' ἐμπείρων βιγλατόρων εἰ δυνατόν στοχάσασθαι  
 τὴν ποσότητα τῶν εἰς τὸ φοῦλκον ἰσταμένων πολεμίων, καὶ τούτων  
 πλείονας μαχίμους ἀνδρας τῶν ἱππέων ἀπολεξάμενος λόχον γενέ-  
 σθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρασκευάσεις, ἀρχηγὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐφιστῶν ἀν-  
 25 δρεῖον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον. διορίσασθαι τε αὐτὸν ὀλίγους τινὰς τοῦ ὑπ'  
 αὐτὸν λαοῦ χιτῶνας ἀμφιάσασθαι γεωργῶν, συμμῖξαι τε αὐτοῖς τῇ  
 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀγροτῶν καὶ γεωργικῶν. ἀόπλους δὲ πάντας  
 εἶναι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀσκέπους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἀνυποδέτους, ἐφίππους  
 δὲ ἅπαντας, ξυλοκόντια κατέχοντας πάνυ κονδὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀπατήσαι  
 30 τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιῆσαι ὥς οὐκ εἶεν τοῦ στρατοῦ  
 V f. 259 ἀλλὰ γεωργοὶ τινες, οἱ λεγόμενοι οἰκοφύλακες. μὴ πλείους δὲ | τού-  
 τους εἶναι τῶν εἴκοσι. εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν χωρίοις ἀνὰ ἕξ ἡ  
 καὶ πλείονα πλησίον ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντας κτήνη τινὰ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 χωρίοις, εἴτε ὑποζύγια εἶεν καὶ βόες εἴθ' ἵπποι τε καὶ ἡμίονοι. περὶ δὲ  
 35 ἐνδεκάτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας διορίσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐμφανισθῆναι τοῖς  
 πολεμίους, ἀπὸ χωρίου πρὸς ἕτερον χωρίον δρομαίως εἰσερχομένους  
 καὶ περισπωμένους, ὅπως τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν ἀναλάβωνται καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
 H 237 ὀχυρώματα διασώσωσι. τούτους τοῖνον ἡνίκα (οἱ) εἰς τὸ | φοῦλκον  
 ἰστάμενοι πολέμιοι θεάσωνται, τὰ μὲν τῶν κτηνῶν αὐτῶν παρέλκον-  
 40 τας, τὰ δὲ ἀπελαύνοντας, καὶ ἀγρότας εἶναι καὶ γεωργοὺς τούτους  
 ὑποτοπήσουσιν, ἀκρατῶς καὶ ἀφυλάκτως τούτους ἐπιδιώξουσιν. δι-  
 ωκόμενοι δὲ οἱ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν οἰκοφυλάκων καὶ γεωργῶν ὑποδύντες,  
 σπουδάσουσι καταλαβεῖν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ἴσταται. καὶ τούτους οἱ  
 πολέμιοι διώκοντες περιπεσοῦνται τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ ἀπαραφυλάκτως. ἐπ' αὖν  
 45 δὲ τοῖς λοχήσασιν προσεγγίσωσιν, εὐτάκτῳ φρενὶ καὶ ὀρμῇ κατ'  
 αὐτῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐφορμήσαντες συρραγεῖτωσαν. καὶ δήλον ὥς οὐκ  
 ἀντιστήσονται κ' αὖ πρὸς μικρὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ νῶτα δόντες πολ-  
 λοὶ τούτων καὶ ἀναιρεθῇσονται, καὶ δορυάλωτοι γένωνται.

Εἰ δὲ συνέγγυς ὁ χώρος εἴη τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατιᾶς ἐν ᾧ τὰ  
 50 τοιαῦτε τελεῖται, καὶ πλήθος τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν  
 διωκομένων ἐξέλθῃ, χρὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ὀπισθεν τῆς τοιαύτης  
 ἐνέδρας καὶ ἕτερον λαὸν τόπον ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἔγκρυμμα καταστή-  
 σαι, ἀπέχον τῆς προτέρας ἐνέδρας μίλια δύο. καὶ εἴγε, ὥς ἔφημεν,  
 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐνέδρᾳ λαὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδιώξει, οἱ τοῦ δευ-  
 55 τέρου ἐγκρύμματος ἐξερχόμενοι κατ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους περι-  
 σῶσουσι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους κατατραυματίσουσι καὶ θανατώσουσι.

to ride out very far to gather food, then you must make plans for an ambush to hurt them. Find out about the *foulkons* of the enemy which have gone out to guard them and which are stationed far from the camp. Observe which one of them is slower in returning to their tents, perhaps just taking their time until their comrades who have been searching out the nearby villages should return to their tents, then make haste to ambush them. Have experienced scouts estimate, if they can, the number of enemy troops in the *foulkon*. Select a larger number than these of brave horsemen and prepare an ambush for the enemy, appointing a brave and very experienced man as commander. Have him order a few of the men under him to dress like farmers, and mix in some real farmers and herdsmen with them. All of them ought to be unarmed and their heads uncovered. Some should be barefoot. All should be on horseback, carrying very short wooden staffs. Do all this to deceive the enemy and to give them the impression that these men are not from the army but just some farmers, of the sort called stewards. There should not be more than twenty of them. They should go into six or more villages close to one another in which they have some herds, whether beasts of burden, cattle, horses, or mules. About the eleventh hour of the day order them to let themselves be seen by the enemy, going from one village to the other on the run and moving about as though they were rounding up their animals and conveying them to safety in strong places. Now then, when the men forming the *foulkon* see these people, some of them leading their herds along, others driving them off, they will surmise that they are peasants and farmers and will follow them relaxed and off guard. Our men, then, who are disguised as farmers and peasant stewards, when the enemy have begun to follow them, should hurry to reach the site of the ambuscade. There the enemy who are following them, caught off their guard, will fall right into the ambush. When they draw near, the men waiting in ambush should charge out vigorously and in good order against them and fall upon them. It is clear that the enemy will not stand up against them, not even for a little while. But they will turn tail, and many of them will be killed or taken captive.

If the place in which all this happened is near the enemy army, and a number of their soldiers should ride out to avenge the troops who have been defeated, the general should have more men stationed in a good spot for an ambush behind the first ambushing party, two miles away from it. If indeed, as we said, the enemy force should pursue the troops in the first ambush, those in the second ambush, riding out against them, will come to the rescue of their own men and will slaughter

δεῖ οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην μηχανήν, ὡ στρατηγέ, περὶ δυσμᾶς ἡλίου  
 ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἵνα, εἰς πλῆθη τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθῶνται τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐν-  
 ἑδρᾷ, ἢ νύξ καταλαβοῦσα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσασα, ἀβλαβῇ τὸν  
 60 ὑπὸ σέ λαὸν διατηρήσῃς.

18: 22 τῶν Hase: τῷ VS || 33 πλείονα De: πλείονας VS || 38 οἱ Hase: om. VS || 46 τοιοῦτοι  
 Hase: τοιοῦτο VS || 52 ἐπιτήδειον εἰς De: εἰς ἐπιτήδειον VS

(ιθ'.)

H 238 Περὶ καταστάσεως καὶ ἐξοπλίσεως καὶ γυμνασίας στρατοῦ.

V f. 259<sup>v</sup>

Εἰ δέ γε θαρρήσουσι κοῦρσον διαχωρίσαι, εὐφυνῶς δεῖ σε τού-  
 τους ἐπιτηδεύσασθαι, ἀποστέλλοντα τῶν ὑπὸ σε τινα ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ  
 5 ἐμπειρίᾳ κεκοσμημένον, μετὰ καθωπλισμένου λαοῦ καὶ ἐξαρκοῦν-  
 τος, τοὺς διεσκεδασμένους τῶν πολεμίων κατατρέχειν, καὶ ἀναιρεῖν  
 καὶ δεσμώτας ποιεῖν. σοῦ δέ μηδέποτε καταλυέτω ἢ παράταξις, ἵνα,  
 εἰ συμβῇ φούλκοις πολεμίων περιτυχεῖν πλήθος ἔχουσι λαοῦ, πρὸς  
 φυλακὴν δηλαδὴ τῶν ἐξελαυνόντων πολεμίων ἐπακολουθοῦσι, τὴν  
 10 ἰδίαν ἔχων παράταξιν συνισταμένην, πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ φούλκον  
 συνάπτων στρατηγικῶς καὶ ἐμπείρως, ὥς ἐξεθέμεθα, καταγωνίσῃ  
 τούτους, καὶ τελείῃ παραδώσει ἀφανισμῷ.

Ταῦτα δέ εἰς (τὴν) σὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ὡ στρατηγέ, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ  
 φυλάττεσθαι ὑπεμνήσαμεν, εἴγε ὀλιγοστόν ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ σε στρά-  
 15 τευμα καὶ εὐαρίθμητον, καὶ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κατὰ πολὺν ἐλαττού-  
 μενον. εἰ δέ περὶ τὰς ἑξ ἢ πέντε χιλιάδας ἀπαριθμεῖται τὸ ὑπὸ σε  
 μάχιμον, μᾶλλον κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιτάξασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεί-  
 χθητι. καὶ οὕτως διὰ μηχανικῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεων,  
 εἰ χρή, καὶ ἀδοκῆτων κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσεων, καὶ εἰ καλῶς καὶ ἐμπεί-  
 20 ρως τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν μηχανήσῃ πόλεμον, ἔχων τὴν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 ἡμῶν ἀκαταμάχητον βοήθειαν συνεπαμύνουσαν, μεγάλα κατὰ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν νίκης ἐργάσῃ τρόπαια.

Οὐκ ἐνὸν δέ ἄλλως στρατηγικῶς καὶ ἐμπείρως τρὸς τὸν πόλεμον  
 παρασκευασθῆναί σε, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐξασκήσεις καὶ ἐκπαιδεύσεις  
 H 239 25 τὸ ὑπὸ σε στράτευμα, ἐθίζων αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγγυμνάζων εἰς τε | τὴν τῶν  
 ὀπλων μεταχείρισιν καὶ πόνων καὶ ταλαιπωριῶν τὸ δριμύ τε καὶ ἐπί-  
 πονον καρτερεῖν καὶ μὴ χαννότητι καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ, μέθῃ τε καὶ τρυφαίς  
 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀσωτίαις τὸ ἐαυτῶν πᾶν ἐπιτρέπειν. προσήκει γε  
 μὴν τὰς τε ρόγας αὐτῶν καὶ σιτηρέσια ἀνελλιπῶς τούτους λαμβά-  
 30 νειν, ἄλλας τε δωρεὰς καὶ εὐεργεσίας πλείους τῶν ἐθίμων καὶ δια-

and inflict serious injury upon the enemy. You ought to employ such a trick, General, around sunset, so that if large numbers of the enemy attack the men in the ambush, nightfall will break up the battle, and you will preserve the men under your command unharmed.

### 19.

The condition of the army. Its armament and training.

If they should dare to dispatch a raiding party, you must get set to deal with it in a suitable manner. Send out one of the men in your command, one noted for his courage and experience, with a sufficient number of well-armed troops. Have them swoop down upon the enemy while they are scattered about, slay some and take others captive. But by all means never break up your formation. If you happen to run into very large enemy *foulkons*, who are, of course, following along to protect the mounted enemy raiders, keep your own formation tightly drawn up and join battle with the *foulkon*, relying on sound strategy and experience, as we have explained. You will beat them down and effect their complete destruction.

We are recalling these matters, General, for your protection and that of your men, if the army under your command is really quite small and very much inferior to that of the enemy. If the fighting men under you number about five or six thousand, then you should hasten to draw them up in formation directly facing the enemy. Make use, then, of devices, stratagems, special operations, and, when necessary, surprise attacks against them. If you call upon your experience and thoroughly plan your warfare against them, with the invincible assistance of Christ our God as a protection, you will achieve great, victorious triumphs over the enemy.

There is no other possible way, as far as strategy and experience are concerned, for you to prepare for warfare except by first exercising and training the army under your command. You must accustom them to and train them in the handling of weapons and get them to endure bitter and wearisome tasks and labors. They should not be allowed to become slack or lazy or to give themselves completely to drunkenness, luxury, or other kinds of debauchery. They certainly ought to receive their salaries and money for provisions regularly, as well as gifts and bonuses, more than are customary or stipulated. Not lacking anything, therefore,

τετυπωμένων, ἵνα τὸ ἀνενδεὲς ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτων δύνωνται καὶ ἵππους  
 καλλίστους ἐπικτᾶσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτῶν πανοπλίας, (καὶ) χαι-  
 ρούση ψυχῇ καὶ προθύμῳ καὶ ἀγαλλο | μένη καρδίᾳ προκινδυνεύειν  
 αἰρῶνται τῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ Χριστια-  
 35 νικοῦ πληρώματος. τὸ δὲ κρεῖττον πάντων καὶ ἀναγκαιότερον, ὅπερ  
 τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν διεγείρει, καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὖξει, καὶ τῶν ἀτολ-  
 μήτων ἐρεθίζει κατατολμᾶν, τὸ τελείαν ἔχειν ἐλευθερίαν τὰς ἐαυτῶν  
 οἰκίας καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς περὶ  
 αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρχήθεν καὶ ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 40 συνετηρεῖτο καὶ διεφυλάττετο. καὶ εὐρήσεις τοῦτο νενομοθετημένον  
 παρὰ τῶν πάλαι ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων βασιλέων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς  
 βιβλίοις αὐτῶν ἐγγεγραμμένον. πρὸς δέ γε τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χρή αὐ | τοὺς  
 καὶ τῆς δεούσης ἀπολαύειν τιμῆς καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀτιμοῦ-  
 σθαι. αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ εἰπεῖν καὶ τύπτεσθαι τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἄνδρας,  
 45 τοὺς μὴ προτιμῶντας τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς ὑπὲρ θεραπειᾶς τῶν ἁγίων βασι-  
 λέων καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἐκδικήσεως. καὶ ταῦτα  
 παρὰ φορο|λόγων ἀνθρωπαρίων, καὶ μηδεμίαν τῷ κοινῷ προξενούν-  
 των ὠφέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἐκπιεζόντων καὶ ἐκτριβόντων τοὺς πέ-  
 νητας, καὶ ἐξ ἀδικίας καὶ πολλῶν αἱμάτων πενήτων ἐαυτοῖς πολλὰ  
 50 τάλαντα χρυσίου ἐπισυναγόντων.

Δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν θεματικῶν κριτῶν ἀτιμοῦσθαι, καὶ  
 ὡς ἀνδράποδα κατασύρεσθαι καὶ μαστίζεσθαι, δεσμὰ τε καὶ κλοιαὶ  
 —ὡ τῆς συμφορᾶς—περιτίθεσθαι τοὺς ἐκδίκους καί, μετὰ Θεόν,  
 σωτήρας Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέων καθ' ἑκάστην,  
 55 ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀποθνήσκοντας· αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου παρακελεύοντος ἕκαστον  
 ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ ἐξουσιάζειν καὶ τούτους κρίνειν. καὶ τίνος  
 ἑτέρου ἄρα λαὸς οἰκεῖος ὁ τοῦ θέματος, εἰ μὴ μόνου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὃν  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος ἐν αὐτῷ προχειρίζεται; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἀρχαιοτάτων Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ νόμου τὴν τοῦ ἰδίου θέματος ἐξουσίαν  
 60 ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέκτητο, κρίνων τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιωτι-  
 κοῖς πράγμασιν, καὶ διοικῶν τὰ ἐν τῷ θέματι ἀνακύνποντα, ἔχων συν-  
 εργὸν τὸν κριτὴν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ συνεργούμενος· συνεργῶν δὲ καὶ τῷ  
 πρωτονοταρίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰς τοῦ δημοσίου δουλείας ἐγκε-  
 χειρισμένοις. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ὁ τουρμάρχης τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ τούρμας  
 65 παρὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς προστάξεως ἐπ' ἐξουσίας τὰς  
 κρίσεις, κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικρατήσαντας τύπους καὶ τὰ τούτων προνόμια.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πάλαι κατάστασιν ὁ τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέων λάβη  
 στρατός, καὶ τὰ λυποῦντα καὶ εἰς πενίαν αὐτοὺς ἄγοντα πόρρω γέ-  
 νωνται τούτων, μεγάλην λήψονται προθυμίαν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ ἀγαλ-  
 70 λίασιν, καὶ γενναιότεροι καὶ εὐτολμώτεροι ἔσονται, ἀκαταγώνιστοί  
 τε καὶ ἀκαταμάχητοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὀφθῇ|σονται. καὶ τούτων οὕτως  
 γινομένων, οὐ μόνον τὰς ἰδίας οἱ ἅγιοι ἢ | μὴν βασιλεῖς ἐκδικήσουσι  
 χώρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρας πλείστας τῶν πολεμίων καθυποτάξουσιν.

they will be able to use these to obtain the best horses and the rest of their equipment. With a joyous spirit and a willing and exultant heart they will choose to brave dangers on behalf of our holy emperors and all the Christian people.<sup>1</sup> But what is more important than all else and more basic, what arouses their enthusiasm, increases their courage, and incites them to dare what nobody else would dare is the fact that their own households and those of the soldiers serving them and everyone about them possess complete freedom. This has provided them security and protection from the beginning and from antiquity. You will find that this has been legislated by the holy and blessed emperors of old and is written down in the tactical books.<sup>2</sup> In addition to freedom, though, they should enjoy proper respect and not be despised and dishonored. For, I am ashamed to say, men such as these are beaten, men who do not value their own lives above service to the holy emperors and for the freedom and vindication of Christianity. And these things are done by tribute-levying manikins who contribute absolutely nothing to the common good, but whose sole intent is to wear down and squeeze dry the poor, and from their injustice and abundant shedding of the blood of the poor they store up many talents of gold.

These men ought not to be dishonored by the thematic judges either, dragged off as prisoners and whipped, bound in chains and—oh, what a terrible thing—pilloried. Yet these are the defenders and, after God, the saviors of Christians who, so to speak, die each day on behalf of the holy emperors. The law itself stipulates that each officer has authority over his own men and can judge them. Does anyone else have authority over the men who live in the theme beside the general alone, whom the holy emperor has appointed?<sup>3</sup> For this reason, from the most ancient Romans and from the law, the general possesses authority over his own theme. He judges cases in matters that affect the soldiers, and he manages affairs that come up in the theme. He has a judge to cooperate with him and with whom he too cooperates. He also cooperates with the protonotary and the others assigned to public service. The turmarch, as is clear from the law and imperial decrees, has also had authority to judge in his own turma, according to the regulations in force and their precedents.

If, in conclusion, the army of the holy emperors should attain its ancient condition and can rid itself of those elements dragging its men into poverty, they will be full of enthusiasm, happiness, and good cheer. They will be better soldiers and more courageous and will appear to the enemy as absolutely invincible. When this comes to pass, our holy emperors will not only defend their own lands but will make many other lands of the enemy subject to themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> "Emperors" is used in the plural, for the oldest sons of the reigning emperors were crowned and bore the title of emperor, even though, as Basil II and Constantine VIII, they might be mere children.

<sup>2</sup> Tactical books must here refer to legal collections (*taxeis*, *diataxeis*). Romanos I Lekapenos seems to have been the first emperor to recognize the problems resulting from the increasing alienation of the soldiers' property and attacked the practice in a law (novel) of 922. Subsequent emperors did the same with varying success. In general, see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 272–88, with further references. Exactly what the author is



19: 4 ἀποστέλλοντα Hase: ἀποστέλλων VS || 10 τοῦ φούλκου Hase: τὸν φούλκον VS || 13 τὴν Hase: om. VS || 26 πόνων S: πόνω V || 32 καὶ Hase: om. VS || 33 ἀγαλλο des. V. fol. 260–260<sup>v</sup> scr. alia m. rec. et minus accurata quam V<sup>1</sup> vocamus || προκινδυνεύειν S: προκινδυνεύει V<sup>1</sup> || 38 καὶ τοὺς S: τοὺς ἵππους V<sup>1</sup> || 41 πάλαι ἀγίων S: παλαιῶν V<sup>1</sup> || 63 τοῦ Hase: τοὺς SV<sup>1</sup> || 65 προστάξεως S: προστάγμασιν V<sup>1</sup> || 72 μόνον S: μόνον V<sup>1</sup>

⟨κ'.⟩

Περὶ τῶν ἐγχροιζόντων πολεμίων κατὰ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν, ἵνα  
ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατὸς κατὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐπέλθῃ.

Τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ μεγάλης καὶ βαρείας δυνάμεως τὰς χώρας  
5 ἡμῶν περιπολούντων, ἐκτριβόντων τε καὶ ἀφανιζόντων, καὶ πολιορ-  
κίας κάστρων διαμελετώντων· φυλαττομένων δὲ τοῦ μὴ παρὰ τῶν  
Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων ἐνεδρευθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐνε-  
δρεῦσαι μηχανωμένων· εἰ μὴ ἀξιόλογος Ῥωμαϊκὴ δύναμις εἰς ἀντι-  
παράταξιν τούτων ἐστίν, δυναμένη τούτους καταγωνίσασθαι. τοῦτο  
10 δεῖ σε, ὦ στρατηγέ, διαπράξασθαι, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις  
γέγονε, καθὼς ἡ συντεθεῖσα στρατηγικὴ βίβλος παρὰ τοῦ ᾠοιδίμου  
καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος διαλαμβάνει. ἥ καὶ οἱ ἐντυχόντες  
σαφῶς τὰ περὶ τῶν λεχθησομένων ἐπίστανται.

Τὸ γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ὁ τῶν Κιλικίων ἄσας λαὸς μετὰ βα-  
15 ρείας δυνάμεως κατὰ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἐξελθὼν, καὶ τὸ  
κάστρον Μισθείας σφοδρῶς πολιορκῶν, τῇ τηνικαῦτα ἀρχηγῷ τοῦ  
στρατοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς προστέταχε, μετὰ τῶν θεμάτων καὶ ταγμάτων  
κατὰ τῆς τῶν Κιλικίων χώρας ἐπιστρατεῦσαι· δύο δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν,  
τοῦ τε Ἀνατολικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου, ὑπολείπεσθαι, τοῦ πρὸς ἐκδί-  
H 242 20 κησιν, ὡς οἶόν τε, τοῦ | τε κάστρον καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς χώρας τοῖς πολε-  
μίοις ἀντικαθίστασθαι. ὁ μέντοι τῶν στρατευμάτων δημαγωγὸς—ἦν  
δὲ τότε Νικηφόρος ὁ ἐπὶ κλησὶ Φωκᾶς—διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς τοῦ Μαν-  
ριανοῦ λεγομένης κατὰ τῆς χώρας Ἀδάνης τὴν ἐπέλευσιν ποιησά-  
μενος, λείαν ὅτι πλείστην ἠλάσατο. τούτῳ πρὸς συνάντησιν λαὸς ὁ  
25 τῆς Ἀδάνης ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων δύο τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἀντιτα-  
ξάμενοι, ἅμα τῷ συμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις νῶτα μεταβαλόντες οἱ τοῦ  
Ἰσμαῆλ ἀκόσμῳ φυγῇ καὶ σποράδην εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως ὥρμησαν. ὁ δέ  
γε τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων ἡγούμενος ὅσους τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν  
ἐνδον πυλῶν γενέσθαι μὴ δυνηθέντας εὔρε, τοὺς μὲν μαχαίρᾳ σὺνέ-  
30 κοψε, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς δουλείαν ἡγάγετο. τοῦ δὲ ἄστος ἐγγύθι στρα-  
τοπεδευσάμενος, ἀμπελώνων καὶ δένδρων τὰ ἐγκαρπα ἅπαντα κατα-  
τεμῶν, τό τε πέριξ | τῆς πόλεως λαμπρόν τε καὶ εὐκοσμον ἀπημαύ-  
ρωσε. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄχρι θαλάσσης ἐπιδραμὼν ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ,

referring to in the following account of injustices and indignities suffered by the soldiers is not fully clear.

<sup>3</sup>On the relationship between the military and civil officials, see H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration," *Etudes administratives*, 100–101.

## 20.

While the enemy delay in our country our army  
can invade theirs.

When large numbers of the enemy wander about our country ravaging, destroying, and making plans to besiege fortified places, they will indeed be on their guard to avoid being ambushed by the Roman units; in fact, they will be devising plans to ambush us. If a Roman army, large enough and capable of defeating them is not there to confront them, then you, General, must take action such as was taken in the past and which is described in the strategical book composed by the revered and most wise emperor Leo.<sup>1</sup> Those who have read it will understand clearly what we shall be discussing.

About that time all the men of Cilicia, a huge force, invaded the theme of Anatolikon and were vigorously besieging the fortified town of Mistheia.<sup>2</sup> The emperor ordered the commander of the army at that time to take thematic and tagmatic units and campaign down in the country of the Cilicians. Two generals, the one of Anatolikon and the one of Opsikion, were left behind to confront the enemy and defend the fortified town and the rest of the country as best they could. Now, the supreme commander of the armies, Nikephoros Phokas, made his invasion along the road called after Maurianos against the country of Adana and took huge amounts of plunder.<sup>3</sup> The garrison of Adana came out to confront this army and about two miles outside their city formed for battle. As soon as they fell upon one another, the sons of Ismael turned tail in disorderly flight, immediately scattered, and rushed back to the city. The commander of the Roman armies cut down with the sword or led into slavery all the Ismaelites he found who had been unable to get inside the gates. He set up camp there near the town, chopped down vines, trees, and everything that bore fruit, and razed the elegant and beautiful suburbs. The next day his

αἰχμαλωσίαν ὅτι πλείστην καὶ κτήνη πάμπολλα ἀναλαβόμενος, καὶ  
 35 δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ὁδοιπορήσας, ἐν τῷ Κύνῳ ποταμῷ, ὃς καὶ Ἰέραξ  
 ἐγχωρίως κέκληται, ἐξῶθεν τῆς γεφύρας ἐν ᾗ ἡ ὁδὸς πρὸς Ἄδανα  
 φέρει ἠπλήκεισε. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἀπάρας ἐκείθεν, τὴν ἰδίαν κατα-  
 λήψεσθαι ἐπορεύετο. τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοίνυν οἱ τὴν Μίσθειαν περι-  
 40 καθήμενοι πολέμιοι κατὰ τῆς ἐναντῶν χώρας ἐπίθεσιν ἀκοντισθέντες,  
 τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσαντες τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς ἐκδίκησιν τῆς ἰδίας  
 χώρας ὑπέστρεψαν. ἀλλ' ἀπρακτήσαντες τῶν ἀμφοτέρων διήμαρτον.  
 ὁ γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων ἡγούμενος μετὰ πολλῶν σκύλων  
 τε καὶ λαφύρων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ Καρυδίου λεγο-  
 μένης τὰ Ῥω|μαίων ἦθη κατέλαβε.

H 243

45 Πρὸς τοῦτ' αὖ καὶ οἱ στρατηγῆσαντες τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ  
 Καππαδοκίας ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις, τῶν Ταρσιτῶν κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς  
 χώρας τὴν ἐξέλευσιν ποιουμένων, δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἐν ταῖς χώραις  
 αὐτῶν εἰσερχόμενοι, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι, ποτὲ δὲ τινες τοῦ λαοῦ  
 αὐτῶν ἀποστέλλοντες, κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν τούτους κατετραυμάτιζον.

50 Ὁ δέ γε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Λυκαντοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείσε ἀκριτικῶν  
 θεμάτων ἐγκεχειρισμένος ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις, ὅσάκις ἂν Ἀλὴ ὁ  
 υἱὸς τοῦ Χαμβδᾶ κατὰ Ῥωμανίας τὴν ἐξέλευσιν ἐποιήσατο, ἢ ἐν τῇ  
 ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ χρείας ἀναγκαίας αὐτὸν κατεπειγούσης μετέβη, κατὰ τῆς  
 χώρας τοῦ Χάλεπε καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπιτιθέμενος, μεγάλην ἐν  
 55 αὐτοῖς βλάβην εἰργάζετο. καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχηγούς  
 τῶν φοσσάτων μεγάλους καὶ περιφανεῖς δορυαλώτους εἶλε, καὶ τοὺς  
 τούτων μαχίμους ἄνδρας καὶ πλείστα φρούρια. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 τῶν Κιλικίων χώρᾳ διεπράττετο, ὡς τῇ Λυκαντῷ συνορούσῃ.

Καὶ αὐτοὺς τοίνυν, ὧ στρατηγέ, ὅτε μετ' ἐπιτηδεύσεως καὶ ἐνέ-  
 60 δρας τραυματίζειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπορήσεις, διὰ τὸ ἐαυτοὺς ἐπι-  
 μελῶς ἀσφαλιζεσθαι καὶ παραφυλάττειν, οὔτε δ' αὖ πάλιν ἀξιόλογον  
 ἔχεις δύναμιν, πρὸς τὸ φανερώς αὐτοῖς ἀντιμάχεσθαι. τοῦτο δεῖ σε  
 διαπράττειν. καὶ εἴτε αὐτὸν σε κατὰ τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων (ἐπεί-  
 γεσθαι, καταλιμπάνοντα) ἄνδρα | τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἀξιολο-  
 65 γώτερον, μετὰ καὶ στρατεύματος τοῦ πρὸς παραδρομὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν  
 τῶν θεμάτων ἐξικανούντος· εἴτε, σοῦ | τὴν παραδρομὴν ποιούντος, τὸν  
 κρείττονα τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ πολυπειρίᾳ ὀνομα-  
 στὸν καὶ ἐπαινούμενον, μετὰ ἱππικῆς καὶ πεζικῆς ἀξιολόγου δυνά-  
 μεως κατὰ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἀποστέλλειν χώρας, καὶ χρονίζειν ἐν  
 70 αὐτῇ καὶ πυρπολεῖν καὶ ἀφανίζειν καὶ κάστρα πολιορκεῖν· ἵνα τοῦτο  
 ἀκούοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ μὴ βουλομένου τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ αὐτῶν, ἀνα-  
 γκάσωσιν αὐτὸν ἐπαναζεῦξαι πρὸς τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ἐκδίκησιν.

S f. 303'

H 244

Ὅποταν δὲ τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καλῶς ἐκσπηλεύσης, καὶ φυγα-  
 δεύσης καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκούντα λαὸν καὶ τὰ τούτων θρέμματα  
 75 ἐν ὄρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις, καὶ βουληθῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ψηλα-  
 φῆσαι καὶ ἀνερρηνῆσασθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄρη, κἀκείθεν τούτους ἀνδρα-

army drove on to the sea, taking a very large number of captives and many flocks. They marched all day to the Kydnos River, which is called Hierax locally.<sup>4</sup> The army encamped beyond the bridge over which the road to Adana runs. The day after that he left there and began the return journey to his own country. When the enemy, now, who were camped around Mistheia heard of the Roman invasion of their country, they abandoned their siege and with great speed turned back to defend their own land. But they failed and gained nothing in both places. For the commander of the Roman divisions, with a large amount of spoils, booty, and prisoners, returned to the abode of the Romans along the road called Karydion.<sup>5</sup>

Long ago, moreover, when the men of Tarsus were attacking Roman territory, the men who then commanded Anatolikon and Cappadocia sometimes took another road and went out among the villages by themselves, and other times dispatched some of their troops and caused as much injury to them as they could.

Then there was the man who had been entrusted with the command of Lykandos and of the frontier themes there at the same time.<sup>6</sup> Every time that 'Ali the son of Hamdan would invade Romania, this commander, even when pressured by dire necessity in his own country, left there and attacked the country around Aleppo and Antioch and did a great deal of damage. He took captive some of 'Ali's kinsmen and some great and illustrious leaders of his armies as well as numbers of their fighting men and many fortresses. He did the same thing in the country of Cilicia, which borders on Lykandos.

Therefore, General, when you are at a loss about how to injure the enemy with stratagems and ambushes, because they are very cautious and guard themselves carefully, or if, on the other hand, it is because your forces are not up to facing them openly in battle, then this is what you ought to do. Either you march quickly against the lands of the enemy, leaving the most responsible of the other generals behind, with enough troops for skirmishing and for the security of the themes. Or else, if you carry out the skirmishing, then send your best general, well known and esteemed for his courage and vast experience, with a significant force of cavalry and infantry down to the country of the enemy. He should stay there a while, burning, destroying, besieging fortified towns. When the enemy hear of this, they will force their leader, even if he is unwilling, to get back to defend their own country.

If you evacuate the area well and find refuge for the inhabitants and their flocks on high and rugged mountains, then if the enemy want to investigate and search about those mountains to take them captive, and if they intend to move close with their whole army to such an area and pitch their tents there, then you ought to draw close to that region to defend your own people. Now, if you notice that the spot in which the enemy have encamped has a mountain or high ground from which you can attack them at night, then you should make plans for this. Thoroughly investigate the lay of the land and take advantage of it. Then make ready your night attack with your infantry force and the cavalry, as explained below in the section on night fighting. You will seriously injure them, terrify them, and cause them to withdraw

- ποδίσασθαι, καὶ πανστρατὶ πλησιάσαι τοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις θελή-  
σωσι, καὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἐκεῖσε πῆξασθαι· ὀφείλεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς  
μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις πλησίον γενέσθαι εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν οἰκείων. καὶ  
80 εἶγε τὸν χώρον θεάσῃ, ἐν ᾧ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐλίζονται, ὄρος ἔχοντα ἢ τό-  
πον ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἐπιτῆδειον πρὸς τὸ νυκτὸς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσθαι,  
τοῦτο μελετήσεις. καὶ διασκοπήσας καλῶς τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν, καὶ  
βοήθειαν ἐκείθεν ἔχων, τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν παρασκευάσης πόλεμον νυ-  
κτὸς μετὰ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἱππέων, καθὼς περὶ νυκτοπολέμου  
85 κατωτέρω εἴρηται. καὶ μεγάλως αὐτοὺς τραυματίσεις καὶ ἐκθροή-  
σεις, καὶ παρασκευάσεις ἐκείθεν ὑποχωρήσαι. καρτερούντων δὲ ἔτι  
ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, καλῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀσφαλιζόμενοι καὶ παραφυλάτ-  
τοντες, καὶ βουλομένων ἀνερεινῆσαι τὰ ὄρη ἐν οἷς τὰ καταφύγια τῶν  
H 245 χωριτῶν τυγχάνει, | δέον φυλαχθῆναι καὶ προκατασχεθῆναι παρὰ  
90 σοῦ τὰς εἰσόδους διὰ τε ἀκουντιστῶν καὶ ψιλῶν. καὶ τούτων καλῶς φυ-  
λαττομένων ἐν οἷς ἡ καταφυγὴ τῶν γεωργῶν σὺν τῶν φαμιλιῶν καὶ  
τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν γέγονεν, εἰ βουλευθῶσι διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ  
δυσβάτων ἐκείνων ὁδῶν εἰσελθεῖν ἡττηθήσονται· καὶ μάλιστα πεζι-  
κῆς (δυνάμεως αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεμένης. εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ μετὰ πεζικῆς) βουλη-  
95 θῶσιν ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ τὰ ὄρη διερευνήσασθαι, ἐν ἐνδοτέροις καὶ ὀχυ-  
ρωτέροις καὶ ἀνεπι|βουλευτοῖς τόποις εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς τῶν χωρίων  
S f. 304 οἰκήτορας ἐπείχθητι· καὶ σου μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τὰς εἰσαγού-  
σας κατ' αὐτῶν ὁδοὺς δηλαδὴ καταλαμβάνοντός τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς  
διαφυλάττοντος.

20: 2 ἵνα S: καὶ V<sup>1</sup> || 5 περιπολούντων S: περιπολούντα V<sup>1</sup> || 6 κάστρων Hase: κάστρων  
διαβαθύνειν καὶ πολιορκίας κάστρων SV<sup>1</sup> || 15 κατὰ S: καὶ V<sup>1</sup> || 16 μισθείας S: om. V<sup>1</sup> || 17  
ταγμάτων S: τῶν τούτων V<sup>1</sup> || 24 ὅτι des. V<sup>1</sup>. S fons unicus || 30 πρὸς Hase: πρὸ S || 51 ἐγκε-  
χειρισμένος Hase: ἐγκεχωρισμένος S || ἀλλή De: ἀλλήμ S || 58 συνορούση Hase: συνορούσαν S ||  
63–64 ἐπείγεσθαι καταλιμπάνοντα Hase: om. S || 70 αὐτῇ Hase: αὐταῖς S || 80 ἔχοντα Hase: ἔχων  
S || 83 παρασκευάσης Hase: παρασκευάση S || 94 δυνάμεως . . . πεζικῆς conj. Hase: om. S

(κα'.)

### Περὶ πολιορκίας κάστρου.

- Πρὸς πολιορκίαν δὲ κάστρου κατανοῶν εὐτρεπιζομένους τοὺς  
πολεμίους, δέον καὶ σε, (ὦ) στρατηγέ, ὅσα πολιορκεῖσθαι δυνατόν—  
5 εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ πολλὰ κάστρα μὴ δεδιότα πολιορκίαν—ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις  
πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξελεύσεως παρασκευάσαι τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατα-  
φεύγοντα λαὸν μηνῶν τεσσάρων τροφὰς καθένα ἕκαστον, εἰ δυνατόν  
καὶ πλείονων, καθ' ὅσον συνορᾷς ἔσσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀποτί-

from there. But if they still manage to hold on in that place, owing to good security and keeping on guard, and if they still want to search around the mountains in which the local people have taken refuge, then the roads into the area must be taken beforehand and protected by javelin throwers and light troops. With those places well guarded which have become the refuge for the farmers with their families and children, then, if the enemy should decide to advance along those narrow and rugged roads, they will be defeated, especially if an infantry force is sent against them. But if they want to attack with their own infantry and search about the mountains, then make haste to lead the inhabitants of the villages to more remote, stronger, and more defensible places. You then take all your men, occupy the roads leading to them, and guard them securely.

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<sup>1</sup>This is mentioned twice by Leo: (1) "We know that our general Nikephoros accomplished this when we sent him down to Syria with a good-sized force. He went there and pillaged right in the middle of the enemy's country, while the Saracen, that is, the barbarian, forces were being led someplace under the command of the eunuch Aboulfer. He ravaged the enemy country and preserved intact the barbarian prisoners and all the other booty he had" (*Tactical Constitutions*, XI, 25). (2) "While Aboulfer, the Saracen emir, overran Cappadocia, our general Nikephoros devastated Tarsus and all Cilicia, inflicting heavy losses on the Saracens" (*ibid.*, XVII, 83).

<sup>2</sup>Although there is some dispute about the date, it probably occurred in the year 900: see R. Jenkins, B. Laourdas, C. Mango, "Nine Orations of Arethas from cod. Marc. gr. 524," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 1–40, esp. p. 15; see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 257.

<sup>3</sup>This Nikephoros Phokas is the grandfather of the emperor: see H. Grégoire, "La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas," *Prosphora eis S. P. Kyriakides, Hellenika*, 4 (1953), 232–54.

<sup>4</sup>The Kydnos (Hierax) is the present Tarsus Çay (Arabic: Baradān) which rises near Lampron in the region of the Bulgar Dağı and flows south through Tarsus to the Mediterranean.

<sup>5</sup>From Podandos (modern Pozanti) Nikephoros led his forces to the southeast along the trail by the Çakit Suyu. This the Maurianos road which leads directly to Adana. After defeating the Arabs, the Byzantines marched east toward Tarsus. When they reached the Kydnos, they turned north and followed the Karydion road through the Cilician Gates: see E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071* (Brussels, 1935), 80–92; F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna, 1977), 57–59; *Tabula imperii byzantini*, 2. *Kappadokien*, F. Hild and M. Restle (Vienna, 1981).

<sup>6</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenitus recounts the origins of the theme of Lykandos and some of the exploits of its general, Melias: *De administrando imperio*, 50, 133 ff; pp. 238–40; also *DAI Commentary*, 189; *Costantino Porfirogenito De Thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi (ST, 160; Vatican City, 1952), 75–76, 143–45; *Tabula imperii byzantini*, 2. *Kappadokien*, 224–26.

## 21.

### The siege of a fortified town.

On learning that the enemy are getting ready to besiege a fortified town, General, you ought to determine which ones are open to a siege, for many fortified towns have no reason to fear a siege. In places subject to a siege, before the ap-

θεσθαι. καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς κινστέρναις ὑδάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν  
 10 ἄλλων πάντων, ὅσα πολιορκουμένους ἐκδικεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν δύνανται.  
 ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῇ παρούσῃ γραφῇ ἐκθεῖναι κατὰ μέρος  
 ἔασομεν. περὶ γὰρ τοιούτων καὶ ἐτέρων πολιορκητικῶν μηχανη-  
 μάτων, καὶ τοῦ, πῶς χρή τοὺς | ἔνδον τοῖς ἐξῶθεν ἀντιμάχεσθαι,  
 ἀκριβῶς πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ λελογισμένως οἱ τὰ τακτικὰ καὶ στρατηγικὰ  
 15 ἀναγραψάμενοι ἐξέθεντο. ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ παραδρομῆς καὶ κατασχέ-  
 σεως κλεισουργῶν προσταχθέντες εἰπεῖν, τὰ ταύτη συντελοῦντα καὶ  
 ἐφαρμόζοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐνὸν ἐκθεῖναι κατεπειγόμεθα.

Τῶν πολεμίων τοίνυν τὸ κάστρον περικαθισάντων, καὶ πρὸς πο-  
 λιορκίαν χωροῦντων, εἰ μὲν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις στενο-  
 20 χωρεῖν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους, ἀπληκεύσουσι δηλονότι τοῦ κάστρου  
 κυκλόθεν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τινὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων μήτε εἰσέρχε-  
 σθαι μήτε ἐξέρχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ἐν ὀχυροῖς τόποις καὶ δυσβάτοις σχεδὸν  
 τὰ πλεῖω ἡμῶν ἵδρυνται κάστρα, εὐχερῶς τοῦτοις οὕτως ἀπληκεύ-  
 σουσι χάρακος καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἄνευ, ἰσχύσεις, ὧ στρατηγέ, καθ' ἐν  
 25 μέρος νυκτὸς μετὰ πεζικοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιθέσθαι, μετὰ συνθή-  
 ματος ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἔχων  
 βοήθειαν, παρασκευάσεις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ συνάψαι αὐτοὺς εἰ δύ-  
 νατον πόλεμον (καὶ) τούτους καταγωνίσῃ. ἔργον δὲ τοῦτο προνοίας  
 Θεοῦ.

Εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χώρου δυσχέρειαν καὶ σκληρότητα οὐ θαρ-  
 30 ρήσουσιν οὕτως κυκλό | θεν καὶ διεσπαρμένως ἀπληκεύσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ  
 δύο μερῶν ἢ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἅπας ὁ λαὸς αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεύσει, δέον πρό-  
 τερον πᾶσαν τροφὴν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἀλόγων πυρπολῆσαι καὶ τε-  
 λείως ἐξαφανίσαι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς χρεῖαν ἀλόγων ἢ ἀνθρώπων πλη-  
 35 σίον τοῦ κάστρου ἢ πόρρω καταλιπεῖν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις. εἰ δὲ καὶ ξύλον  
 ἐπιλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ὄρους μὴ ὄντος, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ στέγη τῶν  
 οἰκημάτων | πυρπολῆσαι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ξύλον ἐν χρεῖᾳ γένωνται οἱ  
 πολέμιοι, καὶ τροφῶν ἐνδεεῖς ὦσιν, ἀνάγκη τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν ἐξέρ-  
 χεσθαι μακρότερον πρὸς συλλογὴν τῶν χρεῶν.

Σοῦ δὲ ἐμπείρως καὶ στρατηγικῶς διατιθεμένου, δυνήσῃ τού-  
 40 τους μετὰ ἐγκρυμμάτων τραυματίζειν καὶ κατατροποῦσθαι. ὡς ἐκ  
 τούτου, τῇ τῶν τροφῶν ἐνδείᾳ ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τὴν πολιορκίαν λύ-  
 σουσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρᾷς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαρτεροῦντας, καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἐπιμέ-  
 νοντας, καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον στενοχωρουμένους, δέον καὶ πρὸς νυκτοπο-  
 45 λέμους δημοσίους χωρῆσαι, πεζικὸν συναγροχῶς στράτευμα ἅμα  
 ἱππεῦσιν. ἀρμοζόντως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν τοῦτοις συνταξά-  
 μενος, τὸν ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεμον παρασκευάσεις γενέσθαι, καθὼς παρα-  
 κατιῶν περὶ νυκτοπολέμου δηλώσω. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καταγωνίσῃ  
 αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀναγκάσεις τὴν τοῦ κάστρου πολιορκίαν λιπεῖν.

Εἰ δὲ τις αἰτία τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς πόλεμον διακωλύσῃ, καὶ οἱ ἔνδον  
 50 πολιορκούμενοι ἐνδεεῖς λαοῦ τοῦ βοηθοῦντός εἰσι, τροφῶν δὲ σπάνιν

H 246

S f. 304v

H 247

proach of the enemy you should make sure that each person who seeks refuge in the place puts aside enough food for four months, more if possible, depending on your estimate of the duration of the siege. Take care that there is water in the cisterns and that everything else is there which can aid and protect people under siege. Since there are so many points to consider, we will dispense with exposing them in detail in the present treatise. Matters such as these and other devices used in sieges, and how the people inside should fight against those outside, have been carefully and precisely explained before us by the authors of books on tactics and strategy. But we have been commanded to discuss skirmishing and the holding of the mountain passes. To the best of our ability, then, we shall concentrate on setting forth what is useful and conducive to that end.

The enemy, therefore, surround the fortified town and prepare to begin the siege. As is usually done by those who want to reduce the besieged to dire straits, they will obviously camp in a circle around the town to prevent any of our people from entering or leaving. Since most of our fortified towns are built in strong, rugged locations, they will set up camp out there, neglecting security or fortifications. You will easily be able, General, to have your infantry force attack them in one sector at night. At the same time, at a prearranged signal, the men inside the fort should charge out. Taking advantage of the terrain, you should be ready in that very hour to engage them in battle, if possible, and you will defeat them, which, of course, should be attributed to God's providence.

But if the rough and difficult nature of the ground keeps them from setting up their camp scattered about in a circle, and the entire army encamps on either one or two sides, then the first thing you ought to do is completely destroy and put to the torch all the food for men and horses, so that no necessities are left for them either near the fortified town or further away in the villages. If the area is not mountainous and wood is lacking, then burn down the very roofs of the houses. For if the enemy are in need of wood and are short of food, their people will be forced to go out further away to gather necessities.

Putting your military experience to good use, then, you should be able to cause them harm by ambushes and put them to flight. The result should be that the scarcity of food will compel them to lift the siege. But if you notice that they are sticking with it and keeping up the siege and that the people in the city are in more difficult straits, then you should turn to regular night battles with a combined army of infantry and cavalry. Draw them up in conformity with the nature of the ground and make ready to attack at night in the manner I shall explain later on in treating of night fighting. By doing this you will defeat them and will force them to abandon the siege of the fortified town.

If some reason prevents the attack at night, and the people inside under siege are in need of reinforcements but have no shortage of food, you should be able to get



οὐκ ἔχουσι, δυνήσῃ καὶ ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν προσθήκην ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὥσ-  
 περ καὶ τροφῆς, εἶγε ἐνδεεῖς εἶεν, τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. συναγαγὼν ἅπαν τὸ  
 55 ἀναλαβέτωσαν καθεὶς ἀνὰ σίτου μοδίους τέσσαρας εἰς οὓς ἐποχοῦν-  
 ται ἵππους· παρέχων αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐζώνους ἐτέρους ἵππεῖς μηδὲν ἐπι-  
 φερομένους πλὴν τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν, καὶ πρὸς μόνην αὐτῶν φυλακὴν  
 εἶναι. σὺ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ μαχίμου στρατεύματος ἐν ἐτέρῳ μέρει  
 H 248 60 μέλλουσι γενέσθαι, περὶ μέσσην νύ | κτα ἄθρόως μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ  
 σαλπίγγων φάνηθι, ὥς ἤδη πολεμίσων αὐτούς. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸν σὸν  
 πόλεμον παρασκευαζομένων, καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν πρὸς σε ποιουμένων, ἄδ-  
 S f. 305 κάστρῳ, | καὶ ἀσινεῖς πάλιν νοστήσουσι. καὶ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης μη-  
 65 χανῆς καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τροφῆς παράσχῃς αὐτοῖς, εἶγε ἀμ-  
 φοτέρων ἐν χρειᾷ εἰσὶ, καὶ σωτηρίας οἱ πολιορκούμενοι τύχωσιν.

21: 2 κάστρον add. alia m. in loco στρατοῦ q. canc. || 4 ὦ De: om. S || 13 τοῦ Hase: τὸ S ||  
 28 καὶ De: om. S || 30 σκληρότατα Hase: σκηρότατα S

⟨κβ'.⟩

Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ἡμισέων  
 ἢ καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸς πολιορκίαν κάστρων εὐτρεπίζονται οἱ πολέμιοι,  
 5 ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς καὶ ἀδράς δυνάμεως τὰς ἡμετέρας χώρας περι-  
 νοστοῦσι, χρή τὸν στρατηγοῦντα τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων ἐπιμελῶς  
 τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἤτοι τοὺς τῶν χωρίων πολίτας καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅπαντα  
 παρακελεύσασθαι τε καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι, ἐν κάστροις καὶ ὀχυ-  
 ροῖς τόποις διασώσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς λείαν ἐξερχο-  
 10 μένους ὡς νουνεχῇ καὶ ἄγρυπνον συνεχῶς τραυματίζειν· ἵν' εἶεν δε-  
 δοικότες πόρρῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτῶν ἐξελαύνειν, καὶ τροφὰς ἐπι-  
 κομίζεσθαι, κάντεῦθεν στενοχωρίᾳ τροφῶν συσχεθῇσονται. πλὴν, ὥς  
 ἔφημεν, πλήθους λαοῦ ἔχοντες ἐτέραν ἴσως μέθοδον μετελεύσονται.  
 διαχωρίζοντες ἐνίοτε τοὺς ἡμίσεις τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ τὸ τριτημό-  
 15 ριον, ἀποστελοῦσι πόρρῳ ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ διάστημα, ἢ καὶ ἐπέκεινα  
 ἀπέχοντες τοῦ φοσσάτου αὐτῶν ἐν χωρίοις τισίν, ἐν οἷς ἐλπίζουσι  
 H 249 ἢ καὶ τρισὶν ἔξω τοῦ φοσσάτου αὐτῶν διάγειν. τοῦτο γοῦν πυθόμενος

additional men through to them as well as food, if they need some, by the following method. Assemble the entire force under your command and divide it in two. In one half let each man take about four sacks of grain upon the horses they are riding, providing them also with unloaded horses. They should not carry any weapons except what they need to defend themselves. With the rest of your fighting men you should get to the other side by the hour that the men carrying the grain are getting close to the fortified town. About midnight let out one loud shout and a blast of trumpets as though you were attacking them right then. While they are getting set to fight against you and rushing to attack you, the men carrying the grain will find they are safe and will convey it into the town and will be able to return unharmed. By this device you will provide them with reinforcements and food, if they should be in need of both, and the besieged will obtain deliverance.

## 22.

Separation of half or a third of the enemy army.

If the enemy should not be getting ready to besiege a fortified town but are wandering around our country in large numbers, then the commander of the Roman forces should make careful preparations and give orders to the farmers or the citizens of the villages to take refuge along with everything they have in fortified and strong places. As an intelligent and alert commander he should ceaselessly inflict damage on the enemy when they come out to plunder. As a result they should be afraid to ride out far from their own army to obtain food. This will cause them to be very hard pressed for food. Yet, as we said, since they have a large force, perhaps they will try to use another method. Sometimes they divide their army in two or even in three sections and send one out as far as a day's march or even further, and while away from their camp they stay in some villages in which they hope to find a greater supply of provisions. They may have to remain outside their camp for two or

καὶ νοήσας, ὦ στρατηγέ, δέον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεδρεῦσαι μετὰ λελογι-  
 20 σμένης διασκέψεως, καὶ πλησίον αὐτῶν ἐν νυκτὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ τόπον  
 ἐπιτήδειον ἐφευρίσκων τὸ ἴδιον στρατεύμα ἀποκρύψαι. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ  
 εἰς δύο καὶ τρία χωρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πλείονα ἐρευνήσοντας τροφάς  
 διασκορπίζονται, εἰκὸς δέ ἐστι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον φοῦλκον εἰς φυλακὴν  
 αὐτῶν ἴστασθαι· δεῖ τὸ ὑπὸ σε στρατεύμα διχῇ διελεῖν, ἀσφάλειαν  
 25 ποιούμενος, μὴ φωραθῆναι ἢ διαγνωσθῆναί σε παρὰ τῶν ἀνερει-  
 νώντων πολεμίων τοὺς λόχους, ἵνα μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν μάλλον ἐνεδρευθῆς.  
 καρτερῆσαι δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγκρύμματι ἄχρι ἐνδεκάτης ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας,  
 ἤδη τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς δύσιν ὄντος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπέστρεψεν, ὥς ἔθος ἐστί,  
 τὸ φοῦλκον ἐν οἷς χωρίοις αὐλίζονται οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτῶν, ἐν τοῖς μῆ-  
 S f. 305<sup>v</sup> 30 κοθεν χωρίοις ἀποσ | τελεῖς οὓς ἔμπροσθεν διεχώρισας ὅπισθεν  
 αὐτῶν ἐπακολουθῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς αὐτοῖς παρεπόμενος. καὶ  
 ὥς ἂν ἡ τοῦ τόπου θέσις δίδωσι, λάθρα καὶ ἄνευ κραυγῆς ὀξέως  
 πορευόμενος ἀπόκρυψον ἑαυτόν, ἕως οὗ ἔγγιστα γένη τῶν χωρίων.  
 ὅτε δὲ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥύακος τὸν ὑπὸ σε  
 35 λαόν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη εἰς φανερόν γενέσθαι· τότε σὺν ἱππασίᾳ νεανικῇ  
 κατὰ τῶν εἰς τὰ χωρία ὄντων πολεμίων ἡ ὁρμὴ παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 ἀποσταλέντων γενέσθω. καὶ ἀδοκῆτως τούτοις ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ ἀναι-  
 ρήσουσι πολλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ κατάσχουσιν.  
 εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ φοῦλκον τὸ εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἔξωθεν τῶν χωρίων ἔτι  
 H 250 40 ἴσταται, κατ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τὴν ὁρμὴν ποιείτωσαν περὶ δυ|σμάς  
 ἡλίου, ὥς ἔφην, οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποσταλέντες. καὶ σοῦ ὀπισθεν παρε-  
 πομένου μετὰ τοὺς προηγουμένους σου, πρὸς πόλεμον συμβαλεῖν  
 συντεταγμένος, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁρμήσεις κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ καταγωνίσῃ  
 τούτους τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι. εἰ δέ γε οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἀρχηγοὶ οἱ  
 45 ἐκεῖσε ὄντες πολλὴν ἔχοντες δύναμιν συστήναι δυνηθῶσι, καὶ τὴν  
 ἥτταν ἀνακαλέσασθαι ἀγωνίσωνται, ὅπερ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, τῆς νυκτὸς  
 ἤδη ἐπιλαμβανομένης οὐδὲν συμβήσεται σοι τῶν ἐναντίων. οὕτως  
 τοίνυν ποιούντός σου, καὶ θαυμάσσονται καὶ πτοηθήσονται σου οἱ  
 πολέμιοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδεῶς θαρρήσουσιν ἐξέρχεσθαι τοῦ φορσάτου  
 50 αὐτῶν· κἀντεῦθεν ἀνάγκη τούτους τροφῶν ὑστερημένους πρὸς τὴν  
 ἰδίαν παλινοστήσαι χώραν.

22: 7 χωρίων Hase: χωρίτων S || 10 νουνεχῇ καὶ ἄγρυπνον De: νουνεχεῖς καὶ ἀγρύπνους S ||  
 30 ὀπισθεν De: ὀπιθεν S || 41 ὀπισθεν De: ὀπιθεν S

even three days. At any rate, General, when you get all this information, then, after thoroughly studying the situation, you should lie in wait for them. Move up close to them at night and find a suitable place to conceal your own army. Since it is not just in two or three settlements that they are foraging for food but are scattered about in several more, then it is likely that the so-called *foulkon* will be assigned to defend them. You should then divide the army under your command in two, but be very careful to avoid being detected or recognized by enemy units on the lookout for ambushes, so you will not be ambushed by them instead. Remain in your hiding place until the eleventh hour of the day, when the sun is already setting. If the *foulkon* returns, as it usually does, to those settlements in which their comrades are encamped, then send to those distant villages the troops you dispatched earlier, with yourself following behind and staying close to them. As the lay of the land permits, keep advancing secretly, without loud shouting, and stay concealed until you get very close to the villages. When you can no longer keep your men hidden by following a stream but have to come out into the open, then have the troops you had dispatched earlier make a charge with fresh horses against the enemy in the villages. By attacking them unexpectedly you will kill many and you will take others alive as captives. But if the *foulkon* supposed to defend them is still in position outside the settlements, then have the troops dispatched earlier, as I said, first make the charge against it around sunset. You follow along behind your advance party, all drawn up to launch an attack, then charge against them, and by the favor of Christ you will defeat them. But if the enemy commanders present there have a large force, they may be able to hold their ground and will struggle to come back from defeat, which is impossible, for with night already falling nothing untoward will happen to you. If, therefore, you do things in this manner, the enemy will be amazed and terrified of you, and they will not dare to ride away from their army without fear. Finally, the lack of food will force them to return to their own country.

⟨κγ'.⟩

Περὶ τῆς ὑποσττροφῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ  
κατασχέσεως τῆς κλεισούρας.

Ἵποστρεφόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπειγομένων  
5 καταλήψεσθαι, δέον τὰς πεζικὰς δυνάμεις πρὸς τὰς κλεισούρας προ-  
αποστεῖλαι, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς, δι' ὧν μέλλουσι διελθεῖν, κατασχεῖν. δι'  
οἷας γὰρ ὁδοῦ διελθεῖν βουληθῶσιν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐν Σελευκεῖα κλει-  
σουρῶν καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν θέματος, καθὰ τὰ Ταυρικὰ ὄρη τὴν  
τε Κιλικίαν διορίζουσι, Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Λυκαντόν· πρὸς τούτοις  
10 καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα Γερμανικεῖαν τε καὶ Ἀδατᾶν, καὶ τὸ Καησοῦν  
καὶ τοῦ Δανουθᾶ, Μελιτήνην τε καὶ τὰ Καλουδία· καὶ τὰ πέραθεν τοῦ  
Εὐφράτου | ποταμοῦ διορίζοντα τὴν τε τοῦ Χανζήτι λεγομένην χώραν  
καὶ τὴν πολεμίαν | ἄχρι Ῥωμανουπόλεως. ἐν ὅλοις τοῖς τοιούτοις  
θέμασι, δι' οἷας ἂν ὁδοῦ ὑποστρέφοντες διελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν βου-  
15 ληθῶσιν, ἀδιστακτῶς τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπείχθητι  
διαθέσθαι πόλεμον, καὶ τὴν νικῶσαν εὐρήσεις τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι.

Ἦνίκα δὲ πρὸ τεσσάρων σταθμῶν ἦτοι ἀπλήκτων ἐπιγνῶς τὴν  
ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ὥρμησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, σοὶ μὲν τῷ τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ ἡγεμόνι  
τάχει πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι προσήκει, καὶ καταλαβεῖν  
20 τὰς πεζικὰς δυνάμεις, τὰς ἐν τῇ κλεισούρᾳ ἀποσταλείσας. καταλι-  
πεῖν δὲ τὸν κρείττονα τῶν λοιπῶν στρατηγῶν, πρὸς τὸ παρατρέχειν  
αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὰ ὀπισθεν κοῦρσα καὶ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς αὐτῶν. ἔχειν δὲ μεθ'  
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἵππικόν στρατεύμα πειθόμενον τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ διορίσασθαι αὐτὸ, ὡς ἡνίκα οἱ πολέμιοι ὡς ἀπὸ δύο ἀπλήκτων τῇ  
25 κλεισούρᾳ πλησιάσωσι, καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος  
διελθεῖν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ὁ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεται πόλε-  
μος. σοῦ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντος ἐν τῇ κλεισούρᾳ καὶ τὰς πεζικὰς τά-  
ξεις ἐνουμένου, δέον σπουδάσαι, καὶ ἕτερον μάλιστα πεζικὸν λαὸν  
ἐπισυνάξει, ὅσον ἂν δυνηθῇ· παραινέσαι τε αὐτοῖς παρρησίᾳ, πρὸς  
30 ἀνδρείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαλείφων καὶ εὐτολμίαν, ἐποτρύναι δὲ καὶ τὸ  
πρόθυμον αὐτῶν, οἷα στρατηγὸς ἄριστος, μελισταγεῖ παραινέσει·  
“Ἄνδρες,” λέγων, “Ῥωμαῖοι, στῶμεν ἀκλινῶς καὶ ἐδραίως· στῶμεν  
ἀνδρικῶς καὶ γενναίως. δεῖξωμεν ἐχθροῖς βραχίονα καὶ ἰσχύν· δεῖ-  
ξωμεν ὡς πρὸς κρείσσονας τὴν ὁρμὴν ἔχουσιν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς βάλλειν  
H 252 35 μᾶλλον ἢ βάλλεσθαι μέλλοντας παρατάττον|ται. μὴ γὰρ λίθος φύσιν  
αὐτοῖς ἢ χαλκός, ὡς μὴ τραύματα δέχεσθαι· μήτε ἐκ σιδήρου τὸ  
σῶμα, ὡς μὴ τῷ κόπῳ ἐκλύεσθαι καὶ ἀποναρκᾶν.”

Προσέτι τούτοις ὑποδεικνύων καὶ τὴν τοῦ τόπου δυσχέρειαν ἐν ᾧ  
μέλλουσι πρὸς μάχην παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ ὅσῃν αὐτοῖς παρέχει  
40 βοήθειαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ καλῶς αὐτοὺς παραθῆξαι καὶ διεγείραι, καὶ  
προθυμοτέρους καὶ εὐτολμωτέρους ἐργάσασθαι, καταστήσεις αὐτοὺς

## 23.

Retreat of the enemy and occupation  
of the mountain passes.

When the enemy are withdrawing and are hastening to reach their own country, our infantry forces should be dispatched beforehand to the mountain passes to hold the roads along which they will be passing. The road which they may plan on taking might lead from the passes in Seleukia and the theme of Anatolikon, up to the Taurus Mountains which border on Cilicia, as well as Cappadocia and Lykandos. In addition, there are the regions about Germanikeia and Adata, also Kaisun, Danoutha, Melitene, and Kaloudia, and the regions beyond the Euphrates River bordering on the country called Chanzeti, and the hostile territory as far as Romanoupolis.<sup>1</sup> In all of these themes, then, along whichever road the enemy may wish to pass in returning to their own land, rely on God's help, do not hesitate at all, quickly make your arrangements to attack them, and by God's favor you will find victory.

When you are four stations or campsites away and know the road along which the enemy are marching, it is your duty as leader of the whole army to get in front of them right away and join up with the infantry forces you had dispatched to the mountain passes. Leave the best of the other generals behind to ride after them to deal with their raids and forays to the rear. Keep the rest of the cavalry force with yourself under your command. Arrange things in such a way that when the enemy get to about two days' march from the pass, then you and your entire army should march through and arrive at the place in which preparations are being made for the battle against them. Now, when you get to the pass and join up with the infantry units, you must be sure to assemble another force, mostly infantry and as large as possible. In eloquent language exhort them, urge them on to bravery and boldness, stir up their enthusiasm. As a perfect general, address them with honeyed words. "Roman men, let us stand steadfast and unswerving; let us stand in a manly and noble fashion. Let us show the enemy our arm and our strength. Let us show them that they are attacking stronger men, that they are drawn up facing men who will strike rather than be struck. For they are not made of stone or bronze which cannot be wounded, nor is their body of iron which does not break down under exertion and which feels nothing."

In addition, point out to them the rugged terrain in which they will soon be getting set for combat and how much it works to their advantage. After you have incited and aroused them and made them more eager and daring, have them proceed

S f. 306<sup>v</sup>

ἐν οἷς τόποις ὀφεί | λουσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μάχεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ  
 ὑψηλὰ τῶν ὁρέων καταλαβεῖν, καὶ πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς κρατῆσαι καὶ  
 45 ασφαλίσασθαι· ἐν αἷς δὲ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐγχωρεῖ σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς μάχε-  
 σθαι, καταστήσεις καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν τόποις. ἐν πάσαις δὲ  
 σου ταῖς παρατάξεσιν ἀρχηγούς τῶν χρησίμων ἐπιστῆσαι σε δεῖ, καὶ  
 τὰλλα πάντα φυλάξαι καὶ πρᾶξαι, ὅσα ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου περὶ τοῦ,  
 πῶς δεῖ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις μάχεσθαι, ἐξεθέμεθα.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πλησίον καταλαμβανόντων, καὶ αἰσθομένων  
 50 τῆς παρὰ σοῦ γενομένης ασφαλείας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ὡς ἀμήχανον διε-  
 λθεῖν αὐτούς, εἴπερ παραβολώτερον τοῦτο τολμήσουσι πρᾶξαι, οὐκ  
 εὐτυχῶς αὐτοῖς τὸ βούλευμα παραστήσεται. ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ  
 δηούμενοί τε καὶ συμπνιγόμενοι, καὶ ἄκουτες τὰ νῶτα δώσουσι,  
 σπεύδοντες δι' ἐτέρας ὁδοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν καταλήψασθαι. τούτων δ' οὕτως  
 55 ὑποστρεφόντων ἀγεννῶς καὶ ἀκόσμως, ὁ λαός σου, τούτους θεώμενος,  
 ὅσης χαρᾶς καὶ θυμηδίας πλησθήσονται, λόγῳ παραστήσαι τοῦτο  
 ἀδύνατον.

H 253

Τῶν οὖν πολεμίων, ὡς λέλεκται, ὑποστρεφόντων, τότε καταδί-  
 60 ωξον ὅπισθεν | αὐτῶν, ἔμπροσθεν ἀποστέλλων ἵππεῖς μετὰ ταχέων  
 ψιλῶν· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὀξύτερον περιπατῶν τοῦ καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς  
 ἐπείχθητι. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ διὰ τὸ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς τάχει τὰς δυσχωρίας  
 διελθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς διαφυγεῖν πόλεμον, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν καταλή-  
 ψασθαι. ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῆς κλεισούρας γενήσονται, τοῦθ' ὑποπτεύο-  
 ντες, πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις γενέσθαι  
 65 καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν κατασχεῖν· ἂν ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν πειραθῶσι  
 ποιήσασθαι, συντόμως τούτους καταλάβης, τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν ἀτονη-  
 σάντων ἀπὸ τῆς χρονίας ὁδοιπορίας, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκλελοιπότην  
 ἐπιτύχης νυκτός ὁδοιπορούντων. εὗρες, στρατηγέ, τὸ αἰεὶ σοὶ ἐπι-  
 ζητούμενον. καταλαμβάνοντός σου δὲ τούτους νυκτός, δέον παραντίκα  
 70 πόλεμον συνάψαι εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον σάκα μετὰ πεζῶν, συνεπακο-  
 λουθούντων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέων. ἐτέρους δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν μεθ' ἱππέων  
 ἐνθεν κάκεῖθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔμπροσθεν γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπό-  
 75 στείλον, καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ | αὐτοὺς πόλεμον προσβαλεῖν πρό-  
 σταξον. καὶ οὕτως ποιούντός σου, οὐ δυνήσονται ἀντιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ  
 πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρμήσουσι. καὶ εἰ τοῦτο νυκτός πράξουσιν, καταδίωξον  
 αὐτούς, καὶ τελείψ τούτους παραδώσεις ἀφανισμῷ.

S f. 307

to their battle stations to await the enemy. First, occupy the high points of the mountains; hold and secure all the roads. On those in which cavalry are able to fight alongside the infantry, find a place for them too. You must put your best officers in command of each of your units. And you must observe and put into practice all the other things we set forth in the beginning of this book about fighting the enemy in difficult country.

When the enemy draw near they will notice the security measures you have taken on the road and realize that there is no way to pass through. But if they dare to take such a risk, that decision will not produce good results for them. They will be cut down and throttled by your people. They will be forced to turn tail and race back to get to their own country by another road. As they retreat in great disgrace and disorder, your men will look on them and be filled with joy and gladness of heart impossible to describe in words.

Now, then, when the enemy are retreating, as has been said, follow along behind them. Send horsemen on ahead together with fast light troops. You should quicken your own pace and hurry to catch up with them. In their flight they will try to get through the difficult areas quickly and steer clear of any fighting as they try to reach their own country. When they draw closer to the mountain pass they become apprehensive about the infantry units getting in front of them again and blocking their route, and they may attempt to travel at night. If so, you should overtake them quickly, for their horses will be worn out from the long march, and the men will be exhausted from having to journey at night. You will find, General, what you have always yearned for. When you catch up with them at night you should immediately make an attack on what is called the *saka* with your infantry and then have the horsemen join in after them. Dispatch other light troops with cavalry to station themselves on both sides of the road ahead of the enemy and order them to mount an attack from the side. If you do all this, they will not be able to resist but will rush into flight. If they do so at night, pursue them and you will annihilate them.

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<sup>1</sup> On these places see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* (*supra*, note 5), 80–92; *Tabula imperii byzantini*, 2. Kappadokien, s. vv.



(κδ'.)

## Περὶ νυκτοπολέμου.

Εἰ δὲ εἰς ἑτέραν ἔλθωσι βουλὴν, κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς, λυσιτε-  
 λούσαν, καὶ ἡνίκα σε καταλαβόντα αἰσθωνται νυκτὸς ἀπληκεύσωσι  
 5 τὰς σκηναὺς πηξάμενοι, τότε νυκτοπόλεμον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐργάσῃ. πλήν  
 οὕτως σε τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν χρή διαθεῖναι πό|λεμον. σὺ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀπι-  
 σθεν μετὰ πεζικῆς παρατάξεως τὴν προσβολὴν ποιήσεις. τὰς δὲ  
 λοιπὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις διελεῖν εἰς ἑξ μερίδας, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν κατὰ τὸ  
 δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτῶν, τρεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον  
 10 καταστήσαι, εἶγε εἰς μῆκος ἢ τοῦ τόπου θέσις τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀπληκτον  
 καταστήσαι καταναγκάσῃ, ἀπεχούσας ἀλλήλων ὥσεί τόξου βολὴν,  
 ἢ καὶ μικρὸν ἔλαττον, μόνην ἀνεωγμένην καὶ ἀφύλακτον καταλι-  
 μπάνουσai τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία τοὺς πολεμίους διασώζουσιν·  
 ὅπως σφοδρωτάτου αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεθέντος τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν  
 15 ἀνεωγμένην ἐφευρηκόσι, ἀπάτῃ τοῦ διασωθῆναι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
 διαφυγεῖν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβῶσι τῶν ἵππων, καὶ δι'  
 αὐτῆς πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρμήσωσι, μόνην ἕκαστος τὴν ἰδίαν περιποιού-  
 μενος σωτηρίαν.

Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίμηκες πεποιήκεσαν τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀπληκτον, ἀλλ' ἢ  
 20 τοῦ τόπου θέσις κυκλοτερές αὐτὸ ἀπειργάσατο, χρή σε τὰς πεζικὰς  
 ἱστάντα παρατάξεις γυρόθεν, παρασκευασθῆναι ταύτας προστάξαι  
 πρὸς πόλεμον· μόνην δέ, ὥς ἔφημεν, τὴν ὁδὸν ἄφετον καὶ ἀνεω-  
 γμένην καταλιπεῖν, τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἴδια τούτων φέρουσιν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ  
 διατάξασθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, παραπληκεύσαι τοῖς  
 25 πολεμίοις προστάξεις, καὶ πυρὰ εἰς πλήθος ἀνάψαι πολλά. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ  
 ἐκάστη παρατάξει τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα καταστήσεις τῶν χρησί-  
 μων καὶ ἀνδρείων, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐν μιᾷ ἐκάστη παρατάξει, ἐκ  
 τῶν ὀπισθεν ἱσταμένους, εἶγε καὶ ὁ χώρος δίδωσιν, ἔχοντας ἀρχηγούς  
 30 ἀνδρας ἀξιολόγους. | πείθεσθαι τε αὐτοῖς προστάξεις καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν  
 λαὸν τῶν πεζικῶν τάξεων.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ οὕτως παρασκευασθῆναι, | διαχωρίσαι τῶν ψιλῶν  
 ἀνδρείους καὶ ταχείς τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποστεῖλαι, τοῦ σιγῇ  
 κατελθεῖν καὶ ἐγγίστα τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι, καὶ διορίσασθαι  
 αὐτοῖς, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἱστάμενοι τὴν προσβολὴν  
 35 ποιήσωνται, εἰθ' οὕτως οἱ ἔμπροσθεν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν  
 μερῶν ἢ τοῦ τόπου θέσις ὑψηλοτέρως φέρει, τὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις κατὰ  
 τῶν πολεμίων (προσβάλλειν ποιήσεις ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ) βαλλόμε-  
 νοι οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς ἐκ χειρῶν καὶ σφενδονῶν λίθοις καὶ τόξοις ἄνωθεν  
 ἐξ ἐκατέρων, εὐχερῶς καταλυθήσονται. εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει ἢ τοῦ τό-  
 40 που θέσις, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς μέρους τὸ ὑψηλὸν ὑπέρκειται, καὶ ὡσαύτως  
 ἐκεῖθεν εὐχερέστερον τῶν λίθων καὶ τόξων τὰς βολὰς κατ' αὐτῶν

## 24.

## Fighting at night.

If the enemy should form another plan which they hope will work to their advantage, once they become aware of your presence, that night they will pitch their tents and set up camp. Then you should attack them at night, making sure to prepare the assault as explained. You should launch your attack from the rear with infantry units. Divide the remaining infantry into six divisions; station three off to the right side of the enemy and three off to the left. If the nature of the ground requires that their camp be set up in an extended way, they should be about a bow shot apart or a little less. Leave open and unguarded the road, and that alone, which provides safe passage for the enemy toward their own land. After they have been vigorously assaulted and they discover the open road, beguiled by the idea of being saved, of fleeing the battle, and of getting back to their own land, they mount their horses and race along that road to escape, each man concerned only about his own safety.

If they have not set up their camp in an extended way but have been compelled by the nature of the ground to make it in a circle, you must form your infantry units in a circle around it and get them ready for battle. Be sure, as we mentioned, to leave only that one road free and open which leads to their own country. After you have drawn up your foot soldiers in this manner, have the units set up camp close to the enemy and light a large number of fires. Over each one of the infantry units station a brave and competent officer. Each unit should also be accompanied by some horsemen under outstanding officers stationed to the rear, as space allows. You should also order all the infantry troops to obey them.

When preparations have been made in this manner, pick out some brave and fleet-footed, light-armed troops and send them ahead. They should silently move up as close as possible to the enemy. Give orders that those stationed in the middle are to lead the attack, then the troops in front. If the ground rises higher on both sides, have the infantry attack the enemy from both directions. As the enemy are struck by stones hurled by hand or slings or arrows from above on both sides, they will quickly fall apart. If the nature of the ground is not such but rises up only on one side, in like manner it is easier to have them hurl rocks and shoot arrows against

πεμπέτωσαν. πλὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐφομάλου ἐπιμελέστερον ἔχεσθαι δεῖ τῆς μάχης. εἰ δὲ βουληθῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιβῆναι ἵππων καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρμήσαι, οὐδὲν μὲν τοῖς ψιλοῖς δεινὸν ἐργάσονται, τοῦ τόπου βοη-  
 45 θούντος αὐτοῖς· ἐαυτοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον μεγάλην προξενήσουσι βλάβην. συγκαταβήτησαν δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ πεζικαὶ τάξεις ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, καὶ σαλπυσάτωσαν ἅπασαι μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ. ἔπειτα καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἰσχυρῶς ἀψάτω τὸν πόλεμον.

Καὶ εἰ ἔτι καρτεροῦσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμή-  
 50 σουσιν, οἱ ταχεῖς ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποσταλέντες παρορμηθή-  
 τωσαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, ἔνδον εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς χωρῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων. εὐχερὲς γὰρ τοῦτο ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ τόπου σκληρό-  
 H 256 τητος. καὶ ἤνικα ἄρξωνται ἀναλαμβάνειν ἵππους ἢ ἡμιό | νους καὶ  
 πράγματα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζειν, καὶ ἀρχὴν  
 55 τοιαύτη γένηται, ὀρμήσουσιν ἅπαντες εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην διαρπαγὴν  
 καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἔνδον χωρήσουσι τῶν σκηνῶν, ξίφει αὐτοὺς κατακό-  
 πτοντες. καὶ τότε πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμήσουσιν ἅπαντες, ὅσοι μὲν ἰσχύ-  
 σουσιν ἐπιβῆναι ἵππων, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ, ὥς ἂν δυνηθῶσιν ὄρεσί τε καὶ  
 φάραγξι κρυβῆναι, καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν.

S f. 308 60 Καὶ εἰ τοιοῦτον τῇ | βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένηται τὸ τοῦ πολέμου  
 πέρας διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς παναχράντου μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεοτόκου,  
 δόξαν μὲν οἱ ἅγιοι βασιλεῖς λήψονται, καὶ κράτος ἅπαν τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν  
 στράτευμα· μηκέτι τῶν πολεμίων κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν στήναι  
 δυναμένων.

65 Εἰ δὲ γε ὁμαλοῦ ἐπιτύχωσι χώραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφαινούσης,  
 καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν καταλύσωσι τὰς σκηνὰς πηξάμενοι, καὶ οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἐν  
 τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τόπῳ τὸν ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεμον ἀρμόξει γενέσθαι, δεῖ τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν μετὰ πασῶν τῶν πεζικῶν τε καὶ ἵππικῶν δυνάμεων ἔμπρο-  
 70 σθεν πάλιν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τῶν ὄρων κατασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν  
 διάβασιν τῆς ὁδοῦ ὁμοίως ἀσφαλίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπεὶ πᾶσαι, ὥς ἔφη-  
 μεν, αἱ ὁδοὶ αἱ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσάγουσαι διὰ τῶν ὄλων ὧν ἀπ-  
 ηριθμησάμην θεμάτων καὶ οἰκείους ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐθεασάμην, δύσβατοι  
 τυγχάνουσιν ἐν ὅρεσι τοῖς διορίζουσι τὰς ἀμφω χώρας, σπεῦδε προ-  
 75 καταλαβεῖν τὴν διάβασιν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν  
 ἀδιστάκτως διατίθεσο πόλεμον. καὶ χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν  
 ὑπερισχύσεις αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους καταβαλὼν τελεῖψ παραδώσεις  
 ἀφανισμῷ.]

24: 11 ἀπεχούσας Hase: ἀπεχούσαις S || 12 καταλιμπάνουσαι Hase: καταλιμπάνων S ||  
 20–21 πεζικὰς ἰσάκτα Hase: πεζικῆς ἰσάτων S || 21 προστάξει Hase: προτάξει S || 32 ἀπο-  
 στείλαι Hase: ἀποστεῖ S || 37 προσβάλλειν . . . καὶ De: aliquid deesse videtur in cod. || 71 ὄλων  
 Hase: ὄπλων S

them from that direction. If the fighting is on level ground, though, it is necessary to exercise greater care. If the enemy want to mount their horses and charge against our light-armed troops, they will not cause them any serious harm, because the terrain will help them. But, rather, they will inflict great damage upon themselves. Have all the infantry units descend from both directions and have all the trumpets sounded, and raise a shout and battle cry. Then the general coming up from the rear should join battle with all his strength.

If the enemy still hold out and do not dash into flight, then the fast light troops and the ones who had been sent out ahead should be aroused by their officers to go into the tents of the enemy. The rugged terrain will make this easy for them. When they start taking the enemy's horses, mules, and other belongings and start taking men captive—when this sort of thing begins, they will all rush in to join in the pillaging. They will go through the tents sparing nobody, cutting them down with the sword. Then the enemy will rush to escape. The ones who can do so will mount their horses, and others will be on foot as they try to hide and find safety in the mountains and ravines.

If such is the end of the battle, it should be ascribed to the help of God through the intercession of his undefiled mother, the Theotokos. Glory will accrue to the holy emperors, and the whole Roman army will gain in power, for the enemy are unable to stand up and face them.

At break of day they might come to some level ground, halt for a rest there, and pitch their tents. But since such a place is not at all suitable for launching an attack at night, the general should take all his infantry and cavalry and again move in front of them. He should occupy the mountain heights and also secure the road passing through. And since all the roads, as we said, leading to the enemy's country through all the themes which we have listed and which we have seen with our own eyes are difficult to travel, being in the mountains which form the frontier between both countries, hasten to seize the passes before they do and without delay launch your attack directly against them. By the grace of Christ our God you will overpower them, hurl them down, and annihilate them.

H 257

&lt;κε' .&gt;

Περὶ ἐτέρας κατασχέσεως ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς  
κατάβασιν δυσχωρίαν ἀποτελουμένης.

Εἰ δέ γε ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν ὑποστρέφουσιν εὐρεθῇ φέρουσα τοῖς πολε-  
5 μίοις ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐφόμαλός ἐστι μὴ ἔχουσα δυσχωρίαν, τοῦ  
κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἀντιστῆναι· ἀλλ' ἡνίκα πρὸς τὸ καταφερὲς  
ἐπικλίνῃ, τότε στενὴ καὶ δύσβατός ἐστι, συγχέουσα τὰς παρατά-  
ξεις αὐτῶν, καὶ ὀλίγους διέρχεσθαι ἀναγκάζουσα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
ὁμοίους παρασκευάζειν ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ διέρχεσθαι· ἐν ἐκείνοις  
10 τοῖς στενωποῖς δέον πεζικὰς τάξεις καταστήσασθαι ἐνθεν κἀκεῖθεν τῶν  
πολεμίων, δύο μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, δύο δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον, ἀπ' ἁλ-  
λήλων διακεκριμένως. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν εἰς λόχον καταστή-  
σασθαι πεζικοῦ λαοῦ δύναμιν, μεθ' ἱππέων καὶ ἄρχοντος ἀνδρείου καὶ  
ἐμπειροτάτου—εἴπερ τὸ λεγόμενον σάκα αὐτῶν ἄνωθεν κατέλιπον,  
15 ἵστασθαι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν φυλάττειν—ἀλλὰ μὴ σύνεγγυς, πρὸς τὸ μὴ δια-  
γνωσθῆναι. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἱ εἰς τὸν λόχον ἱστάμενοι ἄνωθεν πρόθυμοί |  
S f. 308<sup>v</sup> εἰσι παρασυνάψαι πόλεμον, ἡνίκα αἱ κάτωθεν παρατάξεις ἡμῶν  
ἱστάμεναι κατὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν διερχομένων πολεμίων τὴν προσβο-  
λὴν ποιήσονται, ἐξερχέσθωσαν καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸν λόχον ἱστάμενοι πεζοί  
20 τε καὶ ἱππεῖς, καὶ συναπτέτωσαν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν  
πολεμίων. εἰ δὲ οὐ θαρρήσουσιν οἱ εἰς τὸν λόχον ἱστάμενοι κατ' αὐτοῦ  
ἐπελθεῖν κάτωθεν, σάκα εἰς ἐφόμαλον τόπον ἱσταμένου, καρτερή-  
σουσιν εἰς τὸν λόχον. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸ διελθεῖν κατεπείγεται καὶ τοὺς  
ιδίους καταλαβεῖν—οὐ γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἐκεῖσε ἐπὶ πολὺ  
H 258 25 ἵστασθαι—ἡνίκα τῆς εἰς κατάβασιν φερούσης ὁδοῦ | ἐπιλάβηται, καὶ  
ἐξερχέσθωσαν οἱ ἐν τῷ λόχῳ. καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν κατασχόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
ἄνωθεν αὐτῶν γενόμενοι, κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρμησάτωσαν. καὶ οὐ δυνήσο-  
νται ἀντιστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, τοῦ τόπου  
αὐτοῖς ἐναντιουμένου, ἀλλὰ σπεύσουσι τοὺς ιδίους καταλαβεῖν, πολε-  
30 μούμενοι ἐν τοῖς στενώμασι παρὰ τῶν κάτωθεν ἡμῶν ἱσταμένων  
παρατάξεων, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι διελθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν καταλαβεῖν. ἀλλ'  
οὐδαμῶς τούτου ἐπιτύχουσιν, εἴπερ δὴ ὥς ἐξεθέμεθα ὁ κατ' αὐτῶν  
παρασκευασθῇ πόλεμος, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἡττηθήσονται, ἐπὶ  
τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ νίῳ καὶ τῷ  
35 ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.  
Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ τακτικοῦ.

## 25.

Another method of occupying the road and making descent difficult.

It may indeed happen that the road along which they are retreating leads from higher up down to the enemy and becomes level without any difficult sections in which to confront them directly. But it may also slope downward, become narrow and rough, confusing their formations, not allowing more than a few men to pass through at a time, and making the others wait to pass through in their turn. In these narrow places the infantry units ought to be stationed on either side of the enemy, two on the right and two on the left, separated from one another. To the rear, however, station an ambuscade composed of foot soldiers with some horsemen and a brave and very experienced officer—especially if they leave what is called a *saka* further up to stand and guard the road—but not close, so they will not be recognized. If the men stationed in the ambuscade further up are eager to engage in battle, when our units stationed down below make their attack against the enemy passing through up ahead, let the men stationed in the ambuscade, foot and horse, also move out and join them in fighting against the enemy. But if the men in the ambuscade are not bold enough to go down and attack the *saka*, which is located on level ground, they can stay on in the ambush. And when it hurries down to pass through and join up with its own people—for it is not possible for it to remain there for long—when it gets on the road leading downward, then have the men in the ambush charge out. They should occupy the road and charge against them from above. The enemy will not be able to resist or defend themselves under attack, the location itself being against them. But they will hurry to rejoin their own people, as they are attacked in the narrow passes by our units stationed below. They will hope to get through and arrive in their own land. But they will never make it, if the combat has in fact been prepared as we have proposed. Rather, they will be thoroughly defeated by our God who is true, to whom be the glory and the power, with the Son and the Holy Spirit, now, and forever, and for the ages of ages. Amen.

With God's help, the end of the Tactics.



# CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS

## INTRODUCTION

This work, which is found in the manuscripts without a title or author's name, deals with military operations to the north of the Byzantine Empire, particularly in the mountains of Bulgaria. The writer pictures campaigns in which the emperor himself takes part and which involve large armies. He is concerned with the details, even the precise measurements, of setting up camp and providing for its security. He prescribes the procedures which the expeditionary force should follow in marching through hostile territory, through mountains, and in crossing rivers. Siege warfare, training, armament, and other practical matters are also dealt with. The extant text does not have a proper introduction or conclusion, although the original composition may once have included them.

There are obvious similarities between this treatise and the one on skirmishing, which were probably written within twenty-five years of each other. Both writers, while clearly educated men, are practical and to the point and not concerned with the niceties of style. They make some use of earlier tactical books, but they know almost everything they write about directly and from experience.

There are also obvious differences between the two treatises. The one on skirmishing deals with the eastern frontier and the Arabs, while this one is concerned with the west (north) and the Bulgarians, Pechenegs, and Russians. The former still reflects the defensive tactics of the Byzantines in the eastern mountains, whereas in this treatise the Empire is clearly on the offensive. The work on skirmishing almost gives the reader the feeling of being present during the fighting in the mountains. Its author was clearly close to the scene and is able to give names of people and places. He also deals with a very limited topic, border warfare and raids. The author of this treatise, on the other hand, gives few names and has a broader viewpoint. His tactical stipulations are addressed directly to the emperor and have more universal application.

The first and longest chapter of this little book provides instructions on setting up camp and includes some sketches. These, as explained below, do not correspond well with the description in the text. Byzantine camps, unfortunately, were made of earth and perishable materials, and very little meaningful archaeological evidence



remains. One must also bear in mind that Byzantine writers often tend to speak of the ideal rather than the actual, and the camps here described may be of that sort. In any event, a note on the plans for a camp and some efforts at reconstructing them are appended to the present work.

In the preface to his edition (p. xxi) R. Vári proposed that the author of this treatise and the one on skirmishing was the same person, the general Nikephoros Ouranos. But, as J. Kulakovskij noted in his review of Vári's edition (pp. 556–58),<sup>1</sup> there are significant differences of tone and presentation, such as those just mentioned. There are also differences of language and style, which make it quite clear that the works were written by two authors independently of one another. Kulakovskij believes that this second treatise was composed by Nikephoros Ouranos.<sup>2</sup> He may be right, but it cannot be proved with certainty.

The importance of the emperor's presence on the campaign is stressed throughout the work. His tent is at the center of the camp and of the army's operations. Reports are brought to him, and he issues orders. Yet the author uses the imperative in telling the emperor how to proceed. He speaks to him as a trusted advisor, almost as an older relative or friend. The emperor, it is clear, is in command, but he still has a good deal to learn. Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes were both veteran commanders when they campaigned against the Bulgarians and would probably not be the recipients of advice from another general. Kulakovskij suggests that the emperor envisaged in this treatise is most likely Basil II and that the situation described is that which existed in the period from 991 to 995.<sup>3</sup>

In 986 the Byzantine army had been defeated by the Bulgarians, and Basil was occupied in repressing rebellion at home. But in 991 he was able to take the offensive against the Bulgarians. He was young enough, about thirty-three, to be given advice by an experienced, older commander and at the same time old enough to exercise command himself. By the time of his major campaigns a decade later he was a seasoned veteran and no longer in such need of advice. For four years he campaigned in Bulgaria and then, when matters to the east demanded his attention, he left Nikephoros Ouranos in charge there.<sup>4</sup>

Kulakovskij's identification of the emperor in the treatise as Basil II has not gone unchallenged. Vári thought that it was composed during the lifetime of

<sup>1</sup>BZ, 11 (1902), 547–58. He also wrote a lengthy review of Graux's edition: "Novoizdannyj vizantijskij traktat po voennoma djelu," *VizVrem*, 7 (1900), 646–60; and more about Vári's work: "Vizantijskij lager' kontsa X veka," *ibid.*, 10 (1903), 63–91.

<sup>2</sup>Ouranos was a gifted military commander in the reign of Basil II, noted for his successes against the Bulgarians. He compiled a long, wide-ranging tactical book, which is largely a paraphrase of earlier works. See Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 2, 337; A. Dain, *La "Tactique" de Nicéphore Ouranos* (Paris, 1937); Dain, "Stratégistes," 371–73; J. A. de Foucault, ed., "Douze chapitres inédits de la *Tactique* de Nicéphore Ouranos," *TM*, 5 (1973), 281–312.

<sup>3</sup>"Novoizdannyj vizantijskij traktat," 657; "Vizantijskij lager'," 63; BZ, 11 (1902), 555.

<sup>4</sup>In general, see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 298–308.

Nikephoros Phokas.<sup>5</sup> V. Kučma, who has studied this treatise in some detail, finds that Kulakovskij's arguments are not persuasive and that the references to the Russians in the work are too brief and vague to lead to firm conclusions.<sup>6</sup> It could also be, he suggests, that in addressing the treatise to an emperor the author is simply employing a rhetorical device. While readily conceding that firm conclusions can rarely be reached in questions of this sort, the present editor, after considering all the evidence, is inclined to agree with the older Russian scholar. As did Kulakovskij, this reader receives the clear impression that the treatise is concerned with an emperor who is, or is expected to be, physically present on the expedition. That this was Basil II and the circumstances such as described above still seems most likely. Impressions and likelihoods, obviously, are not proofs but, until something more convincing is discovered, they must suffice.

This treatise is found in the same series of closely related manuscripts as the treatise on skirmishing, which immediately follows it. These are: *codex Vaticanus graecus 1164* (V); *codex Scorialensis graecus 281* (Y-III-11) (S); *codex Barberinianus graecus II 97* (276) (B). The other extant codices derive from one of these. The three manuscripts were produced in the same scriptorium in Constantinople in the first half of the eleventh century, perhaps as early as about 1020, and have been studied in detail by scholars.<sup>7</sup> V contains only half the treatise, while the other two have it in full. S is a copy of V, and B comes from a lost manuscript deriving from the same exemplar as V. As with the work on skirmishing, it seems that one or two, possibly three, copies were made between the original writing and V; S and B would then be another copy further removed. The text as found in these manuscripts, then, is close to that written down by the author or his secretary.

This treatise was known to older scholars and was cited by Meursius and Du Cange, who referred to it by the title of its first chapter: *Peri katastaseōs aplēktou, De castrametatione*. Charles Graux discovered the work in some sixteenth-century manuscripts and in 1875 edited and translated Chapters 13, 15, and 18.<sup>8</sup> Fourteen years later, after his death, his edition of the entire treatise appeared.<sup>9</sup> It was based on S and several sixteenth-century codices and included a number of conjectures and emendations made by Graux or his students, many of which have been retained in the present edition. In Budapest, meanwhile, Rudolf Vári prepared an edition of

<sup>5</sup>See also A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorij vizantijskij khronografij X veka," *VizVrem*, 20 (1961), 106–28, esp. pp. 119–20.

<sup>6</sup>"Vizantijskie voennye traktaty VI-X vv. kak istočniki po istorii voennogo iskusstva vizantijskij imperii," *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka, Učenie zapiski Uralskij gosudarstvennyj Universitet*, 53, ser. istor. 4 (Sverdlovsk, 1966), 31–56; esp. pp. 46–47.

<sup>7</sup>See the Introduction to the treatise *Skirmishing*, note 11.

<sup>8</sup>"Notices et extraits d'un manuscrit grec de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Bâle portant la marque A.N.II.14," *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 9 (1875), 76–89.

<sup>9</sup>C. Graux, "Traité de Tactique . . .," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 36 (1899), 71–127.

this work independently of Graux, and this appeared two years later in the Teubner Greek series.<sup>10</sup> He was able to incorporate the corrections of Graux and added several of his own, too many, according to Kulakovskij in his review (p. 550).

The edition of Vári is based chiefly on V and S, which, of course, makes it an improvement over that of Graux. Vári recognized that S is a copy of V and relegates it to a place among the *recentiores*. These more recent manuscripts, however, add little to our knowledge of the text and unduly clutter the apparatus. In the text as found in VSB the first chapter is followed by five full-page diagrams, four of which illustrate the plan of a fortified camp. Neither Graux nor Vári reproduce these, and they have remained unpublished.

The present edition is based on V, the oldest and best of the extant manuscripts. But V comes to an end in Chapter 14 of the treatise. From that point the text is based on S and B, with more confidence being placed in S, which is much more accurate than B and which is copied from V. Those corrections of previous editors which have been adopted are noted in the apparatus, but not all their conjectures. When necessary, the orthography has been standardized.

The illustrations are presented as they appear in V. S and B have slight variations, but are later and less important. How close these copies are to the original drawings is difficult to say, but they are probably not far removed. In any event, while they may give a good general picture of the layout of a camp, they do not provide accuracy of detail. None of the sketches corresponds exactly with the specifications given in the text, and the scale, if any, is not clear.

<sup>10</sup>*Incerti scriptoris Byzantini Liber de re militari* (Leipzig, 1901).

# TEXT and TRANSLATION

T 1

⟨'Ανωνύμου Βιβλίου τακτικόν

α'.⟩

V f. 233<sup>v</sup>

Περὶ καταστάσεως ἀπλήκτου, καὶ ὅτι ὁ στρατηγὸς  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ταξιαρχίαις  
5 τεταγμένων δύναται τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἀπλήκτου  
διαγνῶναι καὶ ἀπαρτίσαι περίμετρον.

Οἱ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῷ μακρῷ  
χρόνῳ συλλεξάμενοι κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ  
χάρακι τεταγμένων δύνανται τὴν περίμετρον τοῦ τόπου, εἰς ὃν τὸ  
10 ὅλον στράτευμα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπληκεύειν μέλλει,  
ἀκριβῶς προδιασκοπεῖν καὶ διαγινώσκειν. εἰ τοίνυν ἑκκαίδεκα τα-  
ξιαρχίαι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἐκστρατείᾳ ὀπλίτας ἔχουσαι ἀνὰ πεντακοσίους,  
ἀκοντιστὰς δὲ ἀνὰ διακοσίους καὶ τοξότας ἀνὰ τριακοσίους, δύνανται  
ἐν τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ τὸ ὅλον στράτευμα τῶν τε ταγματῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν  
15 θεμάτων εὐχερῶς περικυκλοῦν, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐν τε ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ  
διαφυλάττειν. τάττονται δέ, εἴπερ αἱ (ταξιαρχίαι), ὡς εἴρηται, ἑκ-  
καίδεκα τυγχάνουσιν, ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσι μέρεσι, διὰ τε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν  
ψιλῶν τε καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν, ἐν ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν χιλιάδες δ', ἐν τετραγώνῳ  
καὶ τετραπλευρῷ σχήματι τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἀπαρτιζομένου. τοῦτο γὰρ  
20 κρεῖττον τῶν ἄλλων σχημάτων πρὸς ἀπλήκτον, ὥς μὴ δυνατοῦ ὄντος  
εὐχερῶς ἐν μάχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κυκλοῦσθαι. ἢ γὰρ ἀπὸ μιᾶς  
πλευρᾶς ἢ ἀπὸ δύο τούτῳ ἐπιθήσονται· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν πλευρῶν ἢ  
καὶ τεσσάρων εἰ προσβαλεῖν βουληθεῖεν, | διασπῶνται αἱ τάξεις  
αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ εὐκαταγώνιστοι γίνονται· τὸ δὲ στρογγύλον  
25 ἐπισφαλές, ὡς εὐχερῶς ὑπὸ τῶν δυσμενῶν κυκλούμενον, καθὼς καὶ  
τοῖς παλαιοῖς δεδοκίμασται· εἰ μὴ πονή τοῦ τόπου θέσις βιάσαιτο εἰς  
ἐτέρον σχήματος εἶδος ἀποτελέσαι τὸ ἀπλήκτον. περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνε-  
πιτηδεῖων καὶ στενῶν τόπων, πῶς δεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς διαθέσθαι τοῦτο  
ἀσφαλῶς, κατωτέρω λεχθήσεται.

30 Ὅφείλει οὖν ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰς τέσσαρα ἴσα μέρη διαιρεῖν τὴν  
πεζικὴν στρατιὰν ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἕκαστον μέρος ἐν  
τοῖς τέσσαρσι τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τιθέναι πλευροῖς. καὶ γὰρ, εἴπερ ἰσο-  
δυναμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις τὰ μέρη, χρησιμώτατα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα εἰς τε  
τὰ ἀπλήκτα καὶ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας | καὶ τὰς πολυειδεῖς μάχας εὐρίσκον-

V f. 234

## [ANONYMOUS BOOK ON TACTICS

### 1.]

Setting up camp. From the number of soldiers drawn up in the taxiarchies the general is able to form an accurate estimate of the circumference of the entire camp.

The best generals and those who have acquired a good deal of experience over a long period can study the size of the body of troops drawn up within the fortifications and determine well in advance the precise circumference of the site in which the whole army, horse and foot, is going to encamp. If, for example, there are sixteen taxiarchies on the campaign, with about five hundred regular soldiers, two hundred javelin throwers, and three hundred archers, they can easily encompass the whole army in the camp, the tagmatic as well as all the thematic troops, and guard them securely night and day.<sup>1</sup> If, as projected, there are sixteen taxiarchies, they can be assigned to the four quarters, with the regular soldiers, the light-armed troops, and the javelin men numbering four thousand in each quarter, presuming that the camp has been organized in a square or rectangular shape. In setting up camp this is a stronger formation than the others. In time of battle it cannot be easily surrounded by the enemy. Their attack has to be directed against one side or perhaps two. If they attempt to launch their assault from three or four sides, their formations will be all broken up; they will be weakened and easily defeated. The circular shape is not safe, for hostile forces can easily surround it. This is also the opinion of the ancient authorities. The only exception would be if the lay of the land compelled us to adopt another shape in setting up camp. The manner of establishing camps securely in unsuitable and narrow places will be explained below.

The general should, therefore, divide the infantry into four sections of equal strength and assign each section to one of the four sides of the camp. Making all the sections equally strong will prove to be extremely helpful and practical in camp, on the march, and for many kinds of combat. Two thousand regular soldiers should be

35 ται. καὶ ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς ἕκαστον πλευρὸν ἀφορίζονται χιλιάδες β'. ἴστανται δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη ὀργυιᾷ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ὀπλῖται β', κατόπιν δὲ τούτων εἰς βάθος οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ τοξόται, καὶ χρή ἀμφοτέρους, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς δεκαρχίαις συντάττονται εἰς τὰς μάχας ἰστάμενοι, οὕτως εἰς τὰ ἀπλήκτα τοῖς δεκάρχοις εἶναι συσκήνους καὶ συνεστίους καὶ  
40 τούτοις ἐν ἅπασι πείθεσθαι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ δισχιλίοι ὀπλῖται, ὥς ἔφημεν, καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν ἴστανται, δύο δὲ ὀπλῖται ἐπέχουσιν ὀργυιᾶν μίαν, ἀφορίζονται ἐκάστῳ πλευρῷ ὀργυιαὶ χίλια· καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναμετρήσεως τῶν χιλίων ὀργυιῶν διαγινώσκεται καὶ ἀριθμεῖται ἡ τοῦ  
45 ὅλου ἀπλήκτου περίμετρος. δεῖ δὲ καὶ μινσουράτωρα ἐπιλέξασθαι ἄριστον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον καὶ σχοινίον μέτρον χιλίων ὀργυιῶν ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ ἀποστέλλειν τε εἰς ἔρευναν ἐπιτηδεῖον τόπου πρὸς ἀπλήκτον. ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων μινσουράτωρας· πλὴν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ μετὰ καὶ βιγλῶν καὶ τῆς  
50 προσηκούσης αὐτῷ φυλακῆς προπορευέσθω.

T 3

Ποιεῖτω | δὲ τὸ ἀπλήκτον μὴ ἔγγιστα ὄρους ἢ ὕλης δασείας ἢ βουνοῦ ἔχοντος διόδους, ἀφ' ὧν ἴσως οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπελθόντες μετὰ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως καταβλάψωσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖτω εἴπερ ἔστι ποταμὸς δυσπέρατος ἢ λίμνη ἢ κρημνὸς ἢ φάραγξ ἀσφάλειαν παρέχων ἐνὶ μέρει τοῦ στρατοπέδου εἴτε καὶ δυσί, κάκειῖσε  
55 ποιεῖτω τὸ ἀπλήκτον. εἰ δὲ μικρὸς εὔρεθῇ ποταμὸς ὥστε εὐκόλως περαιουῖσθαι, ἔνδον τοῦ στρατοπέδου δεῖ περιλαμβάνειν αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς τὸ κάτωθεν μέρος ποτίζειν, ὅπως τὸ ἄνωθεν καθαρὸν φυλάττηται.

60 Διασκοπεῖτω δὲ ὁ μινσουράτωρ εἴπερ ἐφεύροι ἐπιτήδειον καὶ εὐσύνοπτον τόπον, εἰς ὃν ἀρμόζει στήναι τὴν βασιλικήν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πηγνύσθω τὸ βασιλικὸν φλάμουλον. καὶ τότε μετὰ τοῦ σχοινίου ὃ ἐπιφέρεται τῶν χιλίων ὀργυιῶν (ἀνὰ) πεντακοσίας ὀργυιάς κατὰ ἀνατολὰς μετρήσας, ἐκεῖσε πηγνύσθω τοῦ ταξιάρχου τὸ φλάμουλον, τὸ δ'  
65 αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς δύσιν καὶ ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίαν τὰς ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας μετρήσας ὀργυιάς πηξάτω καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τρισὶ μέρεσι τὰ τῶν | ταξιάρχων φλάμουλα. καὶ τὸ ἀποκληρούμενον ἔνδον ἔστω εἰς ἀπλήκτον ἀπάσης τῆς ἵππικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς στρατιᾶς. χρή δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταξιάρχων τὰ μεγάλα φλάμουλα ἐν τοῖς κατατοπίοις  
70 αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τῷ χάρακι ἵστασθαι.

V f. 234<sup>v</sup>

Ὅτε δύο ὀπλῖται ἐν μιᾷ ὀργυιᾷ ἴστανται, ὀργυιαὶ σν'. τῆς δὲ τάφρου ὀρυσσομένης τυχὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος. ἐπ' ἃν ὁ ἀριστερὸς ταξιάρχος τὰς σν' ὀργυιάς ἀπαρτίσῃ ὀρύσσων. ἐασάτω τόπον ἀνόρυκτον, ὁκτῷ ὀργυιῶν διάστημα | ἔχοντα, ἐν ᾧ ἡ εἵσοδος καὶ ἡ  
75 ἐξόδος εἶναι ὀφείλει τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἀρχέσθω τοῦ ὀρύγματος ὁ ἐν δεξιᾷ τούτου ταττόμενος προταττόμενος τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατὰ μὲν ἀνατολὰς ὀργυιάς ὁκτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν βορρᾶν ὡσαύτως ὀργυιάς ὁκτῷ, ὥς

T 4

assigned to each quarter and should be stationed about a meter apart along the front.<sup>2</sup> Behind them, to the inside, should form the javelin men and the archers. Inasmuch as both of these have their battle position in the dekarchy, so in camp they must share the same tent and hearth with the dekarchs and obey them in everything.

Now, since two thousand soldiers, as we said, are assigned to each of the four quarters, and each of them occupies the space of one meter, two thousand meters should be measured off on each side. Starting, then, with this measurement of two thousand meters, the circumference of the whole encampment is determined and measured. A very good and experienced *mensurator* must be chosen, given a measuring cord of two thousand meters, and sent out to locate a suitable site for a camp.<sup>3</sup> This person should be accompanied by the *mensuratores* of all the other officers. In hostile territory, however, he should move out ahead only when escorted by scouts and with proper protection.

The camp should not be situated very close to a mountain or a dense wood or a hilly area with roads going through it.<sup>4</sup> Enemy infantry could launch an attack from such locations and cause serious harm to our encampment. But search for a place which might have a river that is difficult to cross, or a lake, a cliff, a ravine, which provides protection on one or even two sides of the encampment, and there set up camp. If the river there is only a small one, easy to cross, then have it flow inside the campsite. Water the horses downstream, so the river may be kept clean further up.

The *mensurator* should search about to find a suitable, prominent location which would be just right for the imperial tent, and there raise the imperial standard. Then, with the measuring cord of two thousand meters which he is carrying, he should measure up to a thousand meters off to the east and there plant the banner of the taxiarch. He should then do the same off to the west, the north, and the south. After measuring up to a thousand meters he should erect the banners of the taxiarchs in those three locations. The interior of the camp is thus apportioned off for the entire army, cavalry and infantry. The great banners of the remaining taxiarchs must then be set in their positions in the camp.<sup>5</sup>

When each soldier is positioned in one meter, this makes five hundred meters. As the ditch is being dug along the left side, when the taxiarch on the left completes digging the section of five hundred meters, let him leave a section unexcavated, sixteen meters long, which can serve as the entrance and exit for the troops. The man stationed to the right should then begin his digging in this way, lining up out in front of the left side sixteen meters to the east, likewise sixteen meters to the north,



κατὰ νῶτον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς εὐωνύμου ταξιαρχίας ὑποτάσσεσθαι.  
καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εἴσοδος ἐκ τοῦ εὐωνύμου μέρους κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν  
80 τύπον πλαγία καὶ οὐ κατ' εὐθείαν. ἀπογαμματιζέτω δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τα-  
ξίαρχος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὀπλιτῶν κατὰ νῶτον τοῦ ἱσταμένου πρὸς ἀνα-  
τολὰς λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄχρις ὀκτῶ ὀργυῶν πρὸς τὸ φυλάττεσθαι παρὰ τῶν  
ὀπλιτῶν τὴν εἴσοδον ἀσφαλῶς ἐκατέρωθεν. γενέσθωσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ  
αὐτῷ μετώπῳ ἕτεραι δύο εἴσοδοι τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν (αὐτὴν)  
85 στάσιν φυλάττουσαι· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τρισὶ  
μέρεσιν ἐκταπτέσθωσαν οἱ πεζοί, καὶ τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν τῶν πυλῶν  
ἐχέτωσαν.

Ὁ δὲ χάραξ βάθος μὲν ἐχέτω ποδῶν ἐπτὰ ἢ ὀκτῶ κάτωθεν εἰς  
στενὸν ἀπολήγων, εὖρος δὲ ἐχέτω πόδας πέντε ἢ καὶ ἕξ· τὸ δὲ χῶμα  
90 τοῦ χάρακος τῷ ἔνδον μέρει παρατιθέσθω. ἐπειδὴ δὲ χιλίας ὀργυιάς  
τὸ μῆκος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἐτυπώθη, ἕξ αὐτῶν καταλιμπάνονται εἰς τὰ  
κενὰ χωρία τὰ ἔνδον μὲν τοῦ χάρακος, κύκλῳ δὲ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν  
πεζῶν ἀφοριζόμενα, ὀργυιαί κβ'· ἀκολουθῶς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ τῶν πεζῶν  
ἀπλήκτα ἕτεραι ὀργυιαί κβ'. ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ διαιρούσα τὰς  
95 αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἱππέων σκηνὰς ὀργυιάς ἕξ ὑφαιρεῖται, καὶ δι' ἄμφο-  
τέρων ἀπαριθμούνται καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος ὀργυιαί ν'. ὑπεξαιρεῖται  
οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ὀργυῶν τό τε ἀνατολικὸν καὶ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος  
ὀργυιάς ἑκατόν, καὶ ὑπολιμπάνονται τῷ λοιπῷ ὅλῳ | ἀπλήκτῳ | ὀργυιαί  
V f. 235 ἐνακόσιαι, αἵτινες τριχῇ διαιροῦνται. καὶ τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν ἀπλήκτον  
100 σὺν πάσαις ταῖς ἑταιρείαις καὶ τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἀφαιρεῖται ὀργυιάς τ',  
ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐγκαρσίου δημοσίας ὁδοῦ τῆς διαιρούσης τὴν μεγάλην  
ἑταιρείαν καὶ τὸ τάγμα τῶν σχολῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς αὐτὸ ἀφορι-  
ζούσης ἄχρι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς τεμνούσης τὰς τῶν πεζῶν σκηνὰς ἕτεραι  
ἀφορίζονται ὀργυιαί τ'. ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τηρεῖσθω ἀκρίβεια κατὰ τὸ μέτρον  
105 τῶν τ' ὀργυῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τρισὶ μέρεσιν· καθὼς καὶ ἡ ἐκτε-  
θεῖσα τοῦ ἀπλήκτου σχηματογραφία σαφῶς παριστᾷ.

Τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς κατὰ μέσον πηγνυμένης, γύροθεν τῆς  
κόρτης κενὸς ἀφοριζέσθω χώρος ἱκανὸς χωρεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐν νυκτὶ παρα-  
μένοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ συνερχομένους εἰς τὴν κόρτην. ἐκτὸς δὲ  
110 τοῦ τοιοῦτου χωρίου κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος πηγνύσθω ἡ τοῦ πρωτο-  
βεστιαρίου σκηνή, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· ὅπισθεν  
δὲ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου ἡ τοῦ φύλακος καὶ καθεξῆς κοιτωνιτῶν καὶ  
ἐβδομαρίων καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν διακονούντων οἰκείως τῇ βασιλικῇ ὑπηρε-  
σία, ἄχρις οὗ τὰ τρία μέρη τό τε δεξιὸν καὶ εὐώνυμον καὶ δυτικὸν  
115 πληρωθῇ. πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος ἔμπροσθεν τῆς κόρτης σκηνή  
πηγνύσθω τὸ ἀρχονταρεῖον, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ καὶ ταύτης οἱ τοῦ στάβλου  
ἄρχοντες σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἵπποις ἱστάσθωσαν, οἱ δὲ μαγκλαβίται  
κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου σκηνῆς.  
κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀνατολικώτερον τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης οἱ πανθεῶται, ὁ  
T 6 120 δὲ πρῶξιμος καὶ ὁ κό|μης τῶν βουκίνων σὺν τοῖς μαγκλαβίταις στη-

so that the edge of the left taxiarchy is formed to his back. The entrance is then completed in the ancient manner at an angle from the left side and not in a straight line. Let the same taxiarch form a gamma with his own soldiers to the rear of the troops stationed to the east for a distance of sixteen meters, so the entrance can be safely defended on both sides by the soldiers. Two other entrance ways should be made on that same front, preserving the same shape and position. The foot soldiers should follow the same procedure in organizing themselves in the other three quarters, and they should have the same number of gates.

The trench should be seven or eight feet deep,<sup>6</sup> tapering toward the bottom, and it should be five or even six feet wide. The dirt from the trench should be heaped up on the inside. Since it was stipulated that the width of the camp should be two thousand meters, from those leave forty-four meters for the empty spaces within the wall, separating it all around from the tents of the infantry; for the camp-site of the infantry, forty-four more meters. Likewise, for the road dividing their tents from those of the cavalry, subtract twelve meters. Numbering these from both sides, then, we arrive at a hundred meters in each. From the two thousand meters, therefore, deduct two hundred on the east side and on the west. That leaves for all the rest of the camp eighteen hundred meters, which should be divided in three parts. First, six hundred meters must be reserved for the camp of the emperor with all his corps of guards and the Immortals.<sup>7</sup> Then, from the slanting main road which goes between the troops of the great hetaireia and the tagma of the Schools,<sup>8</sup> forming a border on the east until it reaches the road marking off the tents of the infantry, measure off six hundred more meters. The same accuracy is observed in measuring the six hundred meters in the other three quarters, as is made clear in the diagram of the camp published below.

The imperial tent should be pitched in the middle with a courtyard around it. Let an empty space be marked off large enough to allow the men remaining on duty at night to move about and to allow people to enter the courtyard during the day. Outside this space off to the left the tent of the protovestiarios should be pitched, and to the right that of the epi tes trapezes.<sup>9</sup> Behind the tent of the protovestiarios should be that of the guard and then, in order, that of the chamberlains, the hebdomaries, and the rest of those engaged in the personal service of the emperor.<sup>10</sup> In this way the three sections, the right, the left, and the west will be filled up. Then, on the side to the east, in front of the courtyard, erect the archontareion.<sup>11</sup> In front of this the officers in charge of the stable should be stationed, along with the imperial horses. The manglavitai,<sup>12</sup> in turn, should be placed to the left, in front of the tent of the protovestiarios. Farther east, off to the right, are the pantheotai of the epi tes trapezes.<sup>13</sup> The proximos and the count of the trumpets should be stationed with the

κέτωσαν· οἱ δὲ δουκάτωρες μετὰ τοῦ πρωξίμου ἔστωσαν ἢ μεθ' ἑτέρου  
 τινός, εἰς ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος πληροφορίαν ἔχει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
 στάσιν τῶν τοῦ σταβλοκομήτων ἢ μεγάλη  
 125 ἐταιρεία πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀπληκευέτω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος ὁ τῆς  
 μεγάλης ἐταιρείας ὁ λογοθέτης καὶ ὁ πρωτοασκηκῆτης καὶ οἱ ὑπ'  
 αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοι ἀπληκευέτωσαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ νότιον αὐτῆς οἱ κα-  
 τεπάνω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Τριῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὁδῶν καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος ἐκτεθεισῶν ἢ μὲν  
 μεσαιάτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἐρχομένη καὶ κατ'  
 V f. 235<sup>v</sup> 130 εὐθείαν πρὸς τὴν κόρτην | διήκουσα ἕως τῆς μεγάλης ἐταιρείας  
 ὀφείλει τὸ πλάτος τῶν ἐξ ὀργυῶν ἀποσφῶζειν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐταιρείαν  
 στενοῦσθαι καὶ μόναι τρεῖς ὀργυιαί ταύτῃ ὑπολιμπανέσθωσαν, καὶ  
 ἀποληγέτω εἰς τὸ ἀρχονταρεῖον. τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης μέσης ὁδοῦ, ἀνα-  
 τολικώτερον τῆς μεγάλης ἐταιρείας, ἔνθεν ἀκείθεν τὸ τάγμα τῶν  
 135 σχολῶν τὰς σκηναὺς πηγνύσθω διχῇ διαιρούμενον· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 δεξιῷ μέρει μέσον τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα τοῦ λαοῦ βάνδων ὁ τοποτηρητῆς  
 τῶν σχολῶν ἀπληκευέτω, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πεντε-  
 καίδεκα ὁ χαρτουλάριος, τὴν μέσσην χώραν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχω. εἰς δὲ  
 τὰ χεῖλη τῆς τοιαύτης μέσης ὁδοῦ ἔνθεν ἀκείθεν κόμητες ἀνὰ ὁκτώ  
 140 κατ' εὐθείαν ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς δομεστίκοις τὰς σκηναὺς  
 πηγνύσθωσαν, ἕκαστος δὲ κόμης μέσον τῶν ἰδίων δομεστίκων καὶ  
 αὐτὸς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐχέτω.

Εἰς δὲ τὰς λεχθείσας ἐτέρας δύο δημοσίας ὁδοὺς τὰς ἀπὸ ἀνα-  
 τολῶν μέχρι τοῦ δυτικοῦ χάρακος διικνουμένας, κατὰ τὰ ἔνδον τῶν  
 145 ὁδῶν χεῖλη κόμητες ἀνὰ ἑπτὰ κατ' εὐθείαν σὺν τοῖς ἰδίους δομεστί-  
 κοις καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς σκηναὺς πηγνύ|σθωσαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος  
 T 7 καὶ ἀνατολικὸν δυσὶν ὁδοῖς ἐγκαρσίαις διορίζεται τὸ τάγμα τῶν σχο-  
 λῶν, καὶ ἢ μὲν δυτικῇ ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐταιρείαν ἔνδον πρὸς τὸ βασιλικὸν  
 ἀπλήκτον ἀφορίζουσα δημοσία ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ ἀνατολικῇ ἢ τὸ θέμα ἀπὸ  
 150 τοῦ τοιοῦτου τάγματος διακρίνουσα μερικὴ ἐστὶν ὀργυῖα ἔχουσα  
 δύο. ἐν ταύταις οὖν ταῖς δυσὶν ὁδοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἔνδον χεῖλη κόμητες οἱ  
 παραβαντίται τὰς σκηναὺς κατὰ τὸ εὐθὺ τῶν ὁδῶν ἱστάτωσαν. ὀφεί-  
 λουσι δὲ καὶ ἔνδον οἱ τοῦ τάγματος μικρὰς ὁδοὺς ἀφορίζειν τὰ λεγό-  
 μενα μονοπάτια, δι' ὧν ἀστενοχωρήτως οἱ τοῦ τάγματος μέλλουσιν  
 155 εἰσέρχεσθαι. αἱ δὲ σκηναὶ αἱ κατὰ τὰ χεῖλη τῶν ὁδῶν ἱστάμεναι  
 πεπνυκνωμέναι στηκέτωσαν, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι τινα ἄνευ ὁδοῦ εἰσέρχε-  
 σθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔνδον τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἢ ἐξέρχεσθαι.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν σχῆμα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τῆς στάσεως τῆς  
 V f. 236 μεγάλης ἐταιρείας καὶ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν σχολῶν | δέον ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς  
 160 τὰ ἕτερα τρία μέρη τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἔνδον μὲν τῶν δημοσίων  
 ὁδῶν τὰς ἐταιρείας ἀπληκεύειν καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους, ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν  
 ἐταιρειῶν τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα μετὰ καὶ τοῦ δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλας,  
 καὶ ἔτι τούτων ἐξωτέρω τὰ θέματα εἰς τε σταυροειδὲς σχῆμα καὶ τὰς

manglavitai.<sup>14</sup> The doukatores should be located with the proximos or with someone else in whom the holy emperor has full confidence.<sup>15</sup> After the officers of the stable and the constables are situated, then the great hetaireia should encamp to the east.<sup>16</sup> To the north the logothete of the great hetaireia, the protoasekretis, and their subordinates should encamp.<sup>17</sup> To their south should be the officers of the Imperial Men.<sup>18</sup>

Three public roads should be laid out in each section. The one down the middle goes from the eastern rampart in a straight line toward the courtyard until it comes to the great hetaireia, and ought to retain the width of twelve meters. At the hetaireia it should narrow to only six meters wide for the rest of the way, ending at the archontareion. On either side of this same middle road, farther to the east of the great hetaireia, the tagma of the Schools should pitch its tents in two sections. On the right side, in the middle of fifteen banda of troops, have the topoteretes of the Schools camp.<sup>19</sup> With the other fifteen banda on the left the chartoularios should have the central position.<sup>20</sup> On both sides along this middle road about eight counts together with the domestics under them should pitch their tents in a straight line to the east.<sup>21</sup> Each count should have his tent right in the middle of his own domestics.

Along the other two public roads, already mentioned, which cross from the east to the western entrenchment, on the inside edges of those roads have about seven counts with their own domestics set up their tents in a straight line. In both the western and the eastern sections the tagma of the Schools is divided by two slanting roads. The western one which runs on the inside of the hetaireia, marking it off from the imperial encampment, is public. The eastern one, which separates the theme from this tagma, is an individual one of four meters. Along the inside edges of those two roads, therefore, the parabantitai counts should set up their tents in a straight line along the roads.<sup>22</sup> On the inside the troops in the tagma should line up small roads, footpaths really, along which they can pass without being crowded. They should erect their tents close together along the sides of these roads, so that nobody will be able to go inside the camp or leave it except by a road.

According to the plan presented here, to the east of the location of the great hetaireia and of the tagma of the Schools there should also be in the other three sections of the imperial encampment, on the inside of the public roads, campsites for the hetaireias and for the Immortals and, to the outside of the hetaireias, the rest of the tagmatic forces along with the drungarios of the Watch.<sup>23</sup> Farther to the outside of these should be the thematic forces in a cross-shaped formation, in the angles as far as the road which passes between the cavalry and the infantry camps, as is presented more precisely and clearly in the illustrations. In the tent of the drungarios of the Watch the aides of the generals and the other officers should be in attendance night and day.<sup>24</sup>

γωνίας ἄχρι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διειργούσης τὰ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν  
 165 ἀπλήκτα, καθὼς ἡ διαγραφεῖσα ἱστορία ἀκριβέστερον παριστᾷ καὶ  
 σαφέστερον. ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλας αἱ παρα-  
 μοναὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἐν τε ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ  
 προσεδρενέτωσαν.

Χρῆ δὲ μετὰ τὸ κενὸν χωρίον τὸ ἔνδον τοῦ χάρακος καθεξῆς εἰς  
 170 τὰς ἐτέρας εἰκοσιδύο ὀργυῖας τὰς ἀποκληρωθείσας πρὸς τὸ τοὺς  
 πεζοὺς ἀπληκεῦσαι εἰς μὲν τὴν ἀνα|τολικὴν δημοσίαν καὶ μέσσην  
 οὖσαν ὁδὸν τοὺς μέσους τοῦ μετώπου ταξιάρχους ἓνα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν  
 αὐτῆς, ἓνα δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν πῆξαι. εἰθ' οὕτως εἰς  
 τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ κενοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διαιρούσης τὰ αὐτῶν τε  
 175 καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπλήκτα, οἱ ἐκατόνταρχοι καὶ πεντηκόνταρχοι τὰς  
 σκηνὰς αὐτῶν πηγνύσθωσαν. καὶ καθεξῆς οἱ λοιποὶ κυκλόθεν τῶν ἱπ-  
 πέων, καθὼς ὁ τύπος ἐξετέθη, ἀπληκενέτωσαν ἔνδον ἔχοντες τὰ  
 ἑαυτῶν ἄλογα. μέσον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐχέτωσαν μονοπάτια τὰ μὲν εὐθὺ  
 ἀποτεινόμενα τὰ δὲ ἐγκαρσίως πρὸς τὸ μὴ στενοχωρεῖσθαι τοὺς  
 180 ἀνθρώπους. τὰς δὲ δημοσίας ὁδοὺς καὶ τὰ μονοπάτια εἰς τὰ ἀπλήκτα  
 αὐτῶν διερχόμενα μὴ ἀποκλειέτωσαν ἀλλ' ἀνεωγμένοι ἔστωσαν, ἵνα  
 οἱ εἰς τὰς διακονίας βουλόμενοι ἱππεῖς ἐξέρχῃσθαι μὴ κωλύονται.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρες ταξιαρχίαι ψιλῶν εἶεν μὴ συνταττόμεναι  
 τοῖς ὀπλίταις εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τῶν πεζῶν γαμ-  
 185 ματοειδῶς ἀπληκενέτωσαν, ὥς δηλοῖ τὸ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου διάγραμμα.  
 ἕκαστον δὲ τάγμα καὶ θέμα ὀφείλει διακεκριμένον εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 γειτονοῦντος θέματος ἢ τάγματος ὁδοῖς ἐκατέρωθεν τέσσαρσι, τὸ μὲν  
 f. 236<sup>v</sup> εἰ τύχοι ταῖς δημοσίαις, τὸ δὲ ταῖς μερικαῖς· | ἐχέτωσαν δὲ καὶ καθ'  
 ἑαυτοὺς μονοπάτια, ὅπως ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀλύπως ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις  
 190 χρείαις καὶ διακονίαις διέρχωνται.

1: B f. 214<sup>v</sup>, S f. 257<sup>v</sup>. VSB 1 ἀνωγνύμον . . . τακτικόν Vári: sine tit. codd. || 10 μέλλει B: μέλλειν VS || 16 τάττονται B: τάττον VS || αἱ ταξιαρχίαι Graux: καὶ VSB || 18 ἐκάστω VS: ἐκατέρω B || 19 γὰρ VS: om. B || 33 εἰς τε B: εἴτε VS || 40 πείθεσθαι Graux: τίθεσθαι VSB || 51 ὕλης δασείας De: ἔλους δασέος VSB || 54 φάραγξ Graux: φάραξ VSB || 56 ὥστε Graux: εἰς τὸ VSB || 62 ὁ Graux: οὐ VS: om. B || 63 ἀνὰ Vári: om. VSB || 70 post ἵστασθαι lacunam statuit Vári || 84 αὐτὴν Graux: om. VSB || 86 πυλῶν VS: ὅπλων B || 90 χιλίας ὀργυῖας Vári: χίλια ὀργυῖαι VSB || 97 δυτικόν VB: δυτικόν S || 99 τὸ VB: τὸν S || 103 τῆς ὁδοῦ VS: om. B || 104 κατὰ Graux: καὶ VSB || 111–112 σκηνή . . . πρωτοβεστιαρίου VS: om. B || 112 ἡ Vári: ἡ VS: ἦτοι B || 117 μαγκλαβίται Vári: μαγκλαβίται VSB || 120 μαγκλαβίταις Vári: μαγκλαβίταις VSB || 126 τὸ νότιον S: τὸν ὅτι VB || 129 χάρακος B: χάλακος VS || 132 στενοῦσθω VS: στενοῦσθαι B || 138 ἐπέχων B: ἐπόχων VS || 146 τὸ B: τὸν VS || 152 ἱστάτωσαν Graux: ἱστάσθωσαν VSB || 153 οἱ Vári: ὁ VSB || 155 ἱστάμεναι B: ἱστάμενα VS || 158 σχῆμα VS: σχῆμα ἦτοι B || 159 τάγματος VS: τάγματος ἦτοι B || 162 βίγλας VS: βίγλας ἦτοι τῶν ἀρχόντων B || 163 τε VS: τε τὸ B || 167 στρατηγῶν VS: στρατηγῶν ἦτοι B || 175 καὶ πεντηκόνταρχοι VS: om. B || 179–180 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους B: om. VS || 180 post ἀνθρώπους add. ἦτοι τοῖς πολεμισταῖς B || μονοπάτια VS: μονοπάτια τὰ B || 183 ψιλῶν VS: ψιλῶν ἀνθρώπων B || 185 ἀπλήκτου VS: ἀπλήκτου νῦν B || 188 ταῖς<sup>1</sup> VS: νῦν B || μερικαῖς VS: μετρικαῖς B

After the empty space within the fortification, it is necessary that forty-four meters more be allotted for the infantry to camp along the eastern public road and the one that runs down the middle. The taxiarchs should set up their tents in the middle of the front, one on the right side of the road and the other on the left. Then, in like manner, at the edges of the empty space and of the road dividing their camp from that of the cavalry, the hekatontarchs and the pentekontarchs should pitch their tents.<sup>25</sup> The rest of the cavalry who have their own horses should then encamp in proper order in a circle inside, as laid forth in the regulations. In their midst should be pathways, some straight and some at a slant, to keep the men from being crowded together. The public roads, as well as the pathways running through the campsites, must not be closed off but remain open, so that the horsemen who want to go out to perform their duties may not be hindered.

If there should also be four taxiarchies of light-armed troops not lined up with the regular soldiers, they should encamp in the form of a gamma in the four angles of the infantry camp, as the present diagram of a campsite makes clear. Each tagma and theme ought to be separated from the neighboring theme or tagma by four roads, whether public or individual, on either side. They should also have pathways of their own, so that without hindrance or disturbance they may go about attending to their needs and their duties.

<sup>1</sup>As defined here, a taxiarchy at this period comprised a thousand men under the command of a taxiarch or chiliarch. The five hundred regular soldiers (*hoplites*) were infantry troops generally armed with lance, shield, and sword, and often recruited from foreign peoples. See Nicephori *Praecepta militaria*, ed. J. Kulakovskij (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 19, 3; Kekaumenos, 174–76, *et alibi*; V. Valdenberg, "Taxiarchos," *VizVrem*, 24 (1926), 134–37; V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinischen Herrschaft in Süditalien von 9. bis ins 11. Jh.* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 115–16; *Listes de préséance*, 335.

Tagmatic troops were units of the regular standing army, based mostly around Constantinople and accompanying the emperor on campaign. The thematic troops were those of the provinces (themes).

<sup>2</sup>Literally, two soldiers to an *orguia*, which was a measure of about two meters, from 187 cm. to 210 cm.: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 22–23. Although the Greek text uses the *orguia*, this translation gives the measurements in meters.

<sup>3</sup>*Mensurator* (*minsorator*) designated a surveyor who went ahead to lay out the campsites.

<sup>4</sup>The manuscripts have swamp (*helous*), which may well be a copyist's error for wood or forest (*hylēs*), a mistake which occurs elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup>On such banners see G. Dennis, "Byzantine Battle Flags," *ByzF*, 8 (1982), 51–60. In his edition Vári believes that several lines are missing at this point in the text, but J. Kulakovskij (*BZ*, 11 [1902], 551) is not convinced of this, nor is the present editor.

<sup>6</sup>The Byzantine foot measured 31.23 cm., a fraction longer than an English foot: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 20.

<sup>7</sup>Hetaireia was a term used for several imperial guard corps. The Immortals were a special corps founded by John Tzimiskes (969–76): Leo the Deacon, pp. 107, 132; see *Listes de préséance*, 332–33.

<sup>8</sup>The great hetaireia was the most important of the hetaireiai, and was distinguished from the small and the middle (*mikra, mesē*). Tagma is used to differentiate this corps from the provincial units, *themata*. The schools (*scholai*) formed the most important element of the imperial army. They were commanded by a domestic who, from the tenth century, was also commander in chief of the entire army.

<sup>9</sup>The protovestiaros was in charge of the imperial wardrobe, which also came to include the private treasure of the emperor. It was a very prestigious position, reserved to eunuchs, but its direct power

is not clear. Its titulary accompanied the emperor on campaign. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 216–36; *Listes de préséance*, 305. The *epi tes trapezes*, “in charge of the table,” maître d’hôtel, was also a position reserved to eunuchs. This one was in charge of the imperial banquets, including arrangements, invitations, and entertainment. He too accompanied the emperor on campaign and was responsible for procuring provisions on the journey. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 237–41; *Listes de préséance*, 305–6.

<sup>10</sup>The chamberlains served in the imperial sleeping quarters. The hebdomaries (also called hebdomadaries, dietaries) were on the staff of the grand papias, the concierge of the palace, and apparently supervised the janitorial services: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 252; *Listes de préséance*, 130.

<sup>11</sup>This must be the place reserved for the officers (*archontes*), a sort of staff room or headquarters. The word is not common.

<sup>12</sup>The *manglavitai* formed a sort of security force in the imperial palace. Armed with a mace or club (*manglavia*), they cleared the way for the emperor through the crowds. They were connected with the *hetaireia* and could also wield other weapons. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 305; *Listes de préséance*, 328.

<sup>13</sup>*Pantheotai* would seem to be connected with the pantheon, a hall in the imperial palace, and may indicate soldiers, perhaps junior officers of a guard unit. See von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 106, 122. Skylitzes mentions an officer (commander?) of the pantheon: *Ioannis Skylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (CFHB, 5; Berlin, 1973), 390, 81.

<sup>14</sup>The *proximos* (Latin *proximus*, also *proexēmos*) was a lower-ranking officer, chief of the *mandatores*, who conveyed the orders of the domestic of the schools to other officers. Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 433. The count of the trumpets is not otherwise attested in the sources, but one can easily imagine that his responsibilities had to do with the trumpeteers who sounded the orders.

<sup>15</sup>*Doukatores* (Latin *ducator*, *ductor*) served as leaders or guides for the army: see *infra*, Chap. 14.

<sup>16</sup>The officers (*archontes*) of the stable were on the staff of the count of the stable (constable), whereas the stable counts (*stablokomētes*) served under the protostrator: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 469, 480; *Listes de préséance*, 338–39.

<sup>17</sup>The *logothete* generally had financial responsibilities, including procurement, perhaps similar to the modern quartermaster. The *protoasekretis* had the chief clerical position in the military unit.

<sup>18</sup>The Imperial men were palace guards under the command of a *katepano* (at times, a domestic): *Listes de préséance*, 328.

<sup>19</sup>The *topoteretes* was the lieutenant who assisted the domestic and who commanded the provincial detachments of the schools: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 432; *Listes de préséance*, 329. A *bandon* was supposed to contain about three hundred troops, but at this period was probably closer to two hundred.

<sup>20</sup>Just below the *topoteretes* in rank, the *chartoularios* commanded half the troops of the schools on campaign: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 433.

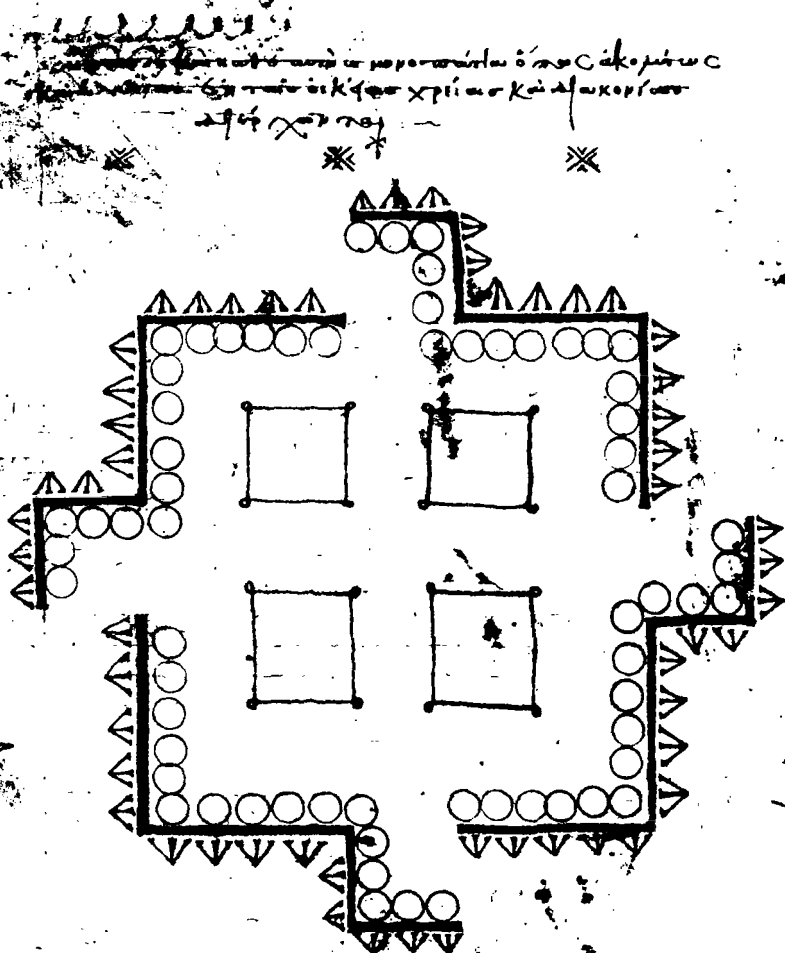
<sup>21</sup>Each count commanded a *bandon*, subdivisions of which were under domestics, officers of lower rank: Guillard, *Recherches*, 432–33; *Listes de préséance*, 329.

<sup>22</sup>Perhaps this originally read *parabanditai*, alongside the *banda*, but it is not clear precisely who these counts were or what their duties were. They do not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>23</sup>The watch (*vigla*) was one of the four imperial *tagmata* and provided security for the palace and the law courts. Its commander came to be called *grand drugarios* and presided over the imperial tribunal. This important position was once held by the historian John Skylitzes. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 563–87.

<sup>24</sup>The *aides* were to convey his orders to the generals: cf. *De cerimoniis* (Bonn ed.) 1, 452. The word may also mean bodyguards or perhaps only personal servants.

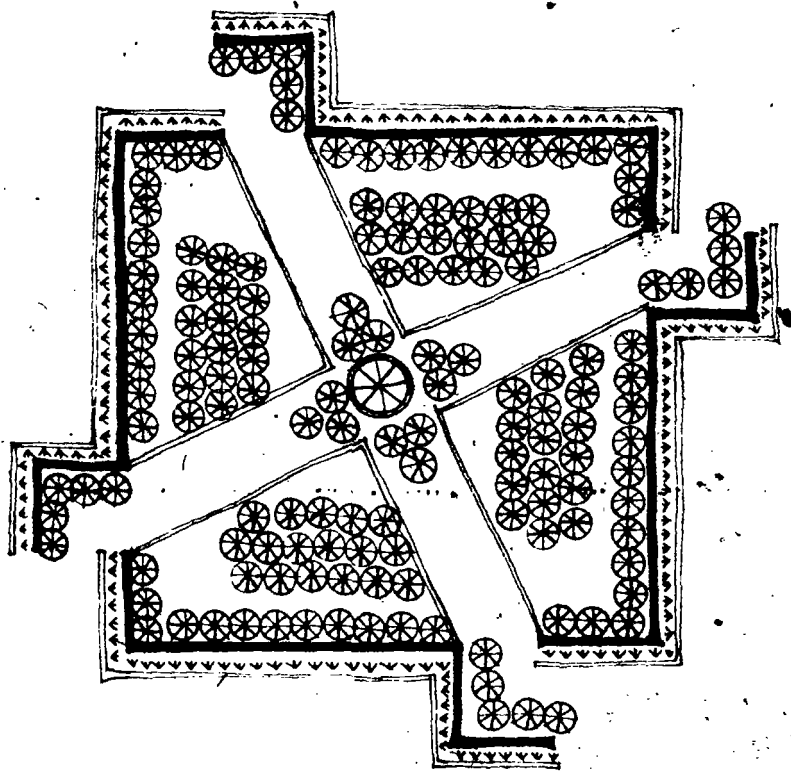
<sup>25</sup>These were subordinate officers in the *bandon*. According to their titles, the *hekatontarch* should command one hundred men and the *pentekontarch*, fifty.



52. Συμπληρωματικὴ (suppl.) 66

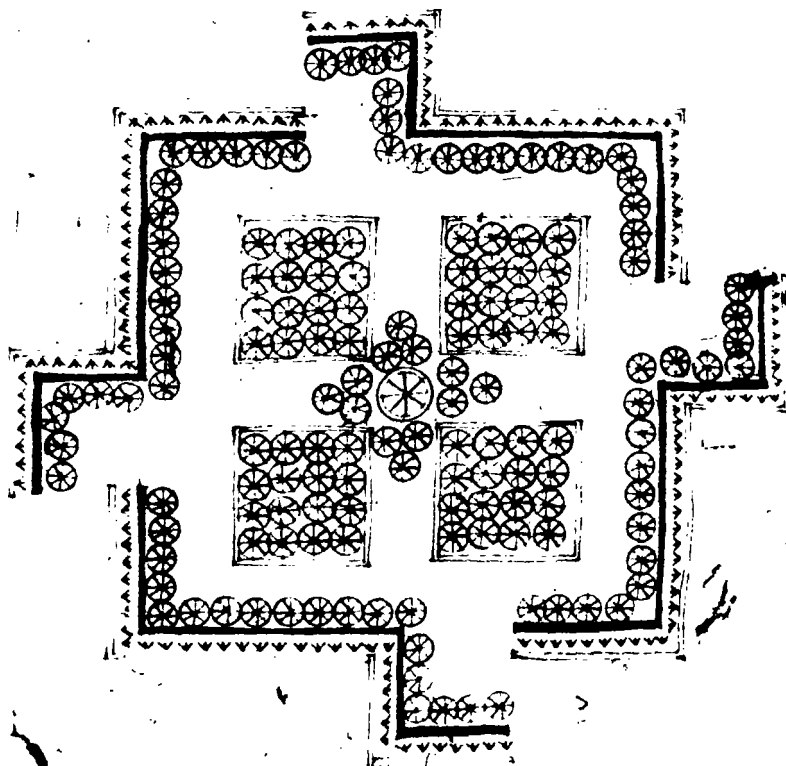
5. Plan of a Camp (V, fol. 236<sup>v</sup>)

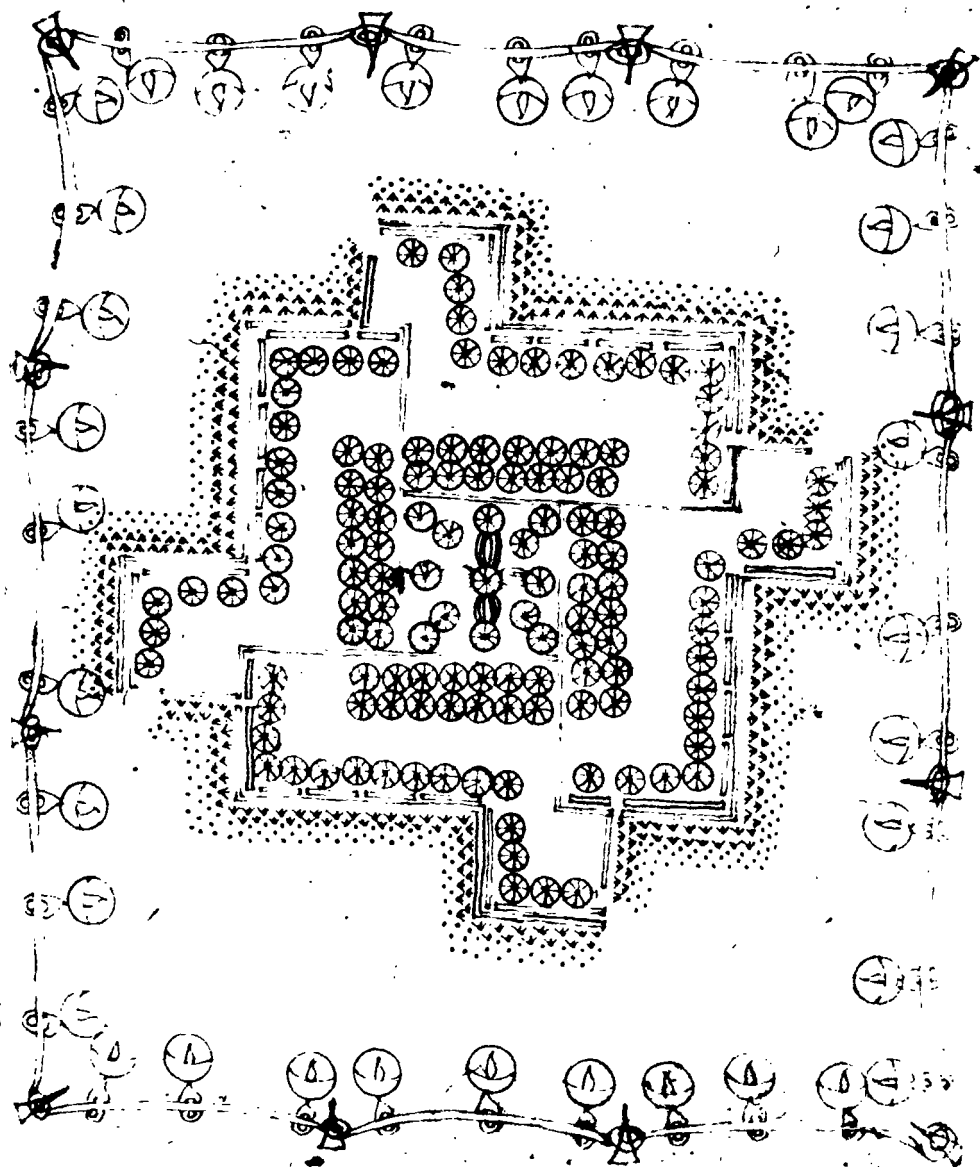




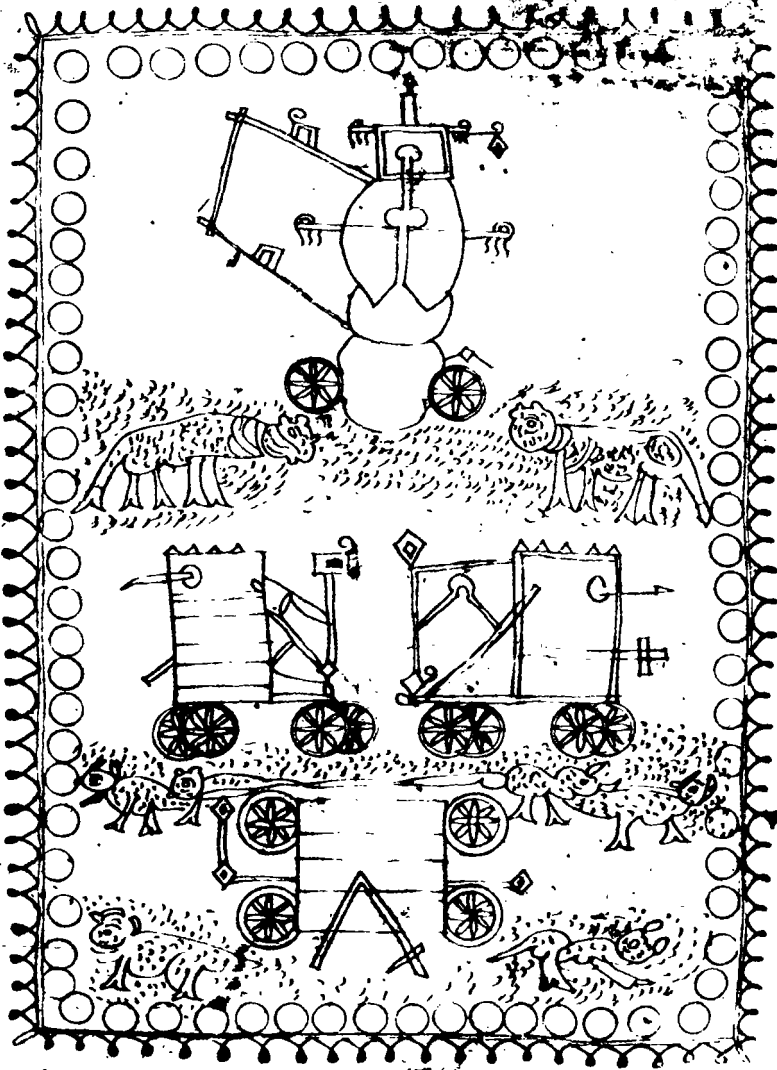
6. Another Camp Plan (V, fol. 237)

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7. Another Camp Plan (V, fol. 237<sup>v</sup>)



8. Another Camp Plan (V, fol. 238)



9. Sketch of War Machines and Animals (V, fol. 238v)

T 9

V f. 239

&lt;β'.&gt;

Ἵτι οὐ δεῖ ἀπληκεύειν ἐξ ἑτέρου θέματος ἢ τάγματος λαὸν εἰς  
ἑτέρου θέματος ἢ τάγματος ἀπλήκτον.

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρου τάγματος ἢ θέματος ἢ βάνδου ἢ τούρμας εἰς  
5 ἑτερον θέμα ἢ τάγμα ἢ βάνδον ἢ τούρμαν ἀπληκεύειν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον  
μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ, ἵνα δουλείας τῇ τάξει ἐκείνῃ αἰφνιδίως  
ἐπερχομένης σῶον ἔχῃ καὶ ἀνελλιπῇ τὸν λαὸν αὐτῆς. ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ  
ἡμερήσια ἀδνουμία, καθὼς ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, χρή γίνεσθαι καὶ  
ἕκαστον τῶν μικρῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν τὸν ὑπ'  
10 αὐτοὺς λαὸν καθ' ἑκάστην βλεπέτωσαν, ἵνα τῇ ἀκριβεῖα τῶν ἡμερη-  
σίων ἀδνουμιῶν συστελλόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπληκεύωσι καὶ μὴ  
τολμᾷ τις ἀπολεωφθῆναι τοῦ ἰδίου ἄρχοντος. τούτου δὲ γινομένου καὶ  
εἵπερ τις εἰσελθεῖν δυνηθῇ τῶν κατασκόπων εὐχερῶς φωραθήσεται.  
τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων οὕτω τυπωθήτωσαν ἀπλήκτα ἵνα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ παρα-  
15 τάξεως μέλλωσιν ἴστασθαι, οὕτω καὶ ὁδοιπορῶσι καὶ σύνεγγυς ἀλ-  
λήλων ἀπληκευέτωσαν.

Ἐχέτω δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς ἕκαστος τριβόλους ἀνὰ ὀκτὼ ἐξηρτημέ-  
νους σχοινίου λεπτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑκάστη δεκαρχία σκόλοπα μικρὸν  
σιδηροῦν ἐχέτω, εἰς ὃν ἡ ἀρχὴ ὀφείλει τῆς τῶν τριβόλων σχοίνου  
20 ἀποδεσμεῖσθαι· ῥιπτέσθωσαν δὲ ἀπὸ ὀργυῶν δέκα τῆς τάφρου  
πηγνυμένοι τοῦ σκόλοπος ἐν τῇ γῇ. ὀρυττέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ λάκκοι οἱ  
λεγόμενοι ποδοκλάσται, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷεῖς ξύλινοι σκόλοπες κατα-  
πηγνύσθωσαν. ἐκτὸς δὲ τῶν τοιούτων γνώρισμά τι γινέσθω ἢ τάφρος  
T 10 μικρὸς ἢ ἀπὸ χω | μάτων βουνίτζα μικρὰ ἢ λιθοσρωεῖαι, ἵνα μὴ  
25 ἀσκόπως τινὲς τῶν τοῦ ἰδίου στρατεύματος περιπίπτοντες τοῖς τοιού-  
τοις καταβλάπτωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥάβδους μικρὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ πηγνύ-  
τωσαν· καὶ κώδωνας εἰς σχοινία δεδεμένους τῶν ῥάβδων ἀπαιωρεῖ-  
τωσαν κύκλῳ παντὸς τοῦ χάρακος, ὅπως οἱ λανθάνοντες πολέμιοι  
ἢ κατὰσκοποι τὰς βίγλας περιτυγχάνοντες τοῖς τοιούτοις εὐκόλως  
30 ἐπιγινώσκωνται.

2: B f. 220. 3 ἢ τάγματος B; om. VS || 5 θέμα . . . ἕκαστόν με VS; om. B || 19 ὃν Graux: ὁ  
VSB || 24 βουνίτζα VB: βουνίταια S || 28 κύκλῳ Graux: κύκλων VSB

## [2.]

Troops belonging to one theme or tagma ought not to encamp with those from another theme or tagma.

Troops from one tagma, theme, bandon, or turma should not encamp with those of another tagma, theme, bandon, or turma.<sup>1</sup> Each one, rather, should remain with its own commanding officer. In case that unit, then, has to report for duty all of a sudden, it will be right up to strength with nobody missing. The daily assignments must also, as was the custom among the ancients, be done in like manner. Each subordinate cavalry and infantry officer should check the men under him each day, making sure they are encamped closely together in the same place, so the daily assignments will be carried out exactly, and nobody should dare to separate himself from his own commanding officer. If this is observed, any spy who manages to get inside will easily be detected. The campsites for the cavalry should be so arranged that they may march out in the positions they will be forming in for battle, and so they should camp close to one another.

Each infantryman should have about eight caltrops strung out on a small rope, and each dekarchy should have a small iron stake to which the end of the rope with the caltrops should be tied.<sup>2</sup> After fixing the stake in the ground they should throw the rope twenty meters from the ditch. Have them also dig pits, the sort called footbreakers, and fix sharp wooden stakes in them. On the outside of such traps there should be some sort of sign, a small ditch, a mound of dirt or a pile of rocks. Otherwise, some of our own troops might fall right into them and be injured. Small rods should also be stuck in the ground and bells tied together by string hung on them in a circle all around the camp, so that when they stumble on these, any enemy soldiers or spies trying to elude our sentries will easily be detected.

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<sup>1</sup>Tagma originally designated the basic army unit of about three hundred soldiers, but can be used for a military unit in general. Here it seems to signify a unit of the regular imperial army. Theme is an army from one of the provinces. Bandon was the same as tagma, a unit supposed to have about three hundred men. A turma was supposed to have about three thousand troops, according to the *Tactical Constitutions* of Leo VI, and three of them would make up a theme.

<sup>2</sup>The caltrops, highly recommended by Maurice and other military writers, were objects with three or four protruding spikes intended to trip up horses. The dekarchy was a squad of ten soldiers.

⟨γ'⟩.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ ὀφειλουσῶν γίνεσθαι  
φυλακῶν ἥτοι κερκίτων.

- Δεὶ δὲ τὰς ἔνδον τοῦ χάρακος ἐν νυκτὶ φυλακὰς ἥτοι κέρκιτα ἐπι-  
5 μελῶς γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ κενῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ ἕκαστος μὲν τῶν ταξιάρχων  
φυλακὰς δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἐχέτω λαόν. ὁ δὲ ὀπλιτάρχης  
ἀπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τῶν μὴ τεταγμένων εἰς τὰς ταξιαρχίας ἀναλαμβάνο-  
μενος ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἕως μεσονυκτίου, καὶ τούτους ὑπαλλάττων δι'  
ἐτέρων ἑκατόν, ἄχρι πρωΐας ποιείτω τὴν ὀφειλομένην φυλακὴν ἔνδον  
10 τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τῷ κενῷ χωρίῳ κυκλεύων τὴν στρατιάν. τὸ γὰρ κενὸν  
V f. 239<sup>v</sup> χωρίον τούτου | χάριν ἐκ προμηθείας πρὸς λυσιτέλειαν ἀφορίζεται,  
ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ κέρκιτα γίνωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων  
ἐνίοτε προσβαλλόντων τῷ χάρακι καὶ βέλη κατὰ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου πε-  
μπόντων εἰς αὐτὸ καταπίπτωσι καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἔνδον ἵππους ἢ τοὺς  
15 ἀνθρώπους λυμαίνωνται· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐναντία τισὶ στρατεύμασιν ἐκ  
T 11 τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου συνέβησαν. πρὸς τούτῳ δέ, ἵνα καὶ οἱ | εἰς τὰ  
ἄκρα ἀπληκεύοντες στρατηγοί, εἰ συμβῇ πόλεμον συμπεσεῖν τοῖς  
τοῦ χάρακος, εἴτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εἴτε ἐν νυκτὶ, πεζῇ μετὰ τοῦ μαχίμου  
αὐτῶν λαοῦ παραταττόμενοι ἐν τῷ κενῷ χωρίῳ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν αὐτοῖς.  
20 δεῖ δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀκρίτας στρατηγοὺς σὺν τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς λαῷ  
ἐξωτέρῳ πάντων τῶν θεμάτων καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεζῶν σκηνῶν μόνῃ  
διειργομένους τῇ μέσον κειμένη ὁδῷ τῇ ὀριζούσῃ τὰ τῶν ἵππέων καὶ  
πεζῶν ἀπλήκτα (ἀπληκεῦσαι), ἵν' ἐν τοῖς ἀπροόπτοις καὶ αἰφνιδίως  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπερχομένοις πολέμοις ἐξ ἐτοίμου καὶ προχείρως  
25 ὄντες τοῖς τοῦ χάρακος συνεργῶσι καὶ συνασπίζωνται. ὁ δὲ ὀπλι-  
τάρχης μὴ μόνον δι' ὅλου ποιείτω τὰ κέρκιτα, ἀλλ' ὑπαλλαττέσθω διὰ  
τὸν πολὺν κόπον, ἀνθρώπων πιστῶν ὡς εἰκὸς ἀποστελλομένων παρὰ  
τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀγίου.

3: B f. 220. 5 κενῷ VS: κεινῷ B || 14 καταπίπτωσι Graux: καταπίπτουσι VSB || 18 πεζῇ  
VSB: an πεσῇ legendum Graux || 22 τῇ ὀριζούσῃ VB: τῆς ὀριζούσης S || 23 ἀπληκεῦσαι Vári:  
om. VSB

⟨δ'⟩.

Περὶ τῶν ὀφειλουσῶν γίνεσθαι ἐν νυκτὶ  
καὶ ἡμέρᾳ βιγλῶν.

Τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἔθους ἐξώβιγλα καὶ ἐσώβιγλα τὰ καὶ πλησιέστερον  
5 ἰστάμενα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀπὸ ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν πεζῶν. τὰ δ' ἐσώ-

## [3.]

The guards or patrols which should be  
posted at night.

The guards or patrols inside the entrenchment at night should be carefully positioned in the empty space. Let each taxiarch see that his own troops have guards during the entire night. The hoplitarch should come up with a hundred men from among the light-armed troops who are not assigned to the taxiarchies.<sup>1</sup> These should be on duty until midnight and then be relieved by another hundred. The hoplitarch should go about the camp seeing that they perform guard duty until dawn in the empty space inside the ramparts. Now, the empty space is measured off with regard to our advantage, so that not only are patrols assigned to it, but also whenever the enemy attack the fortifications and fire projectiles into the camp, they may fall in the empty space and not harm the horses or the men within. Some armies have sustained great damage from this sort of action. In addition to this, in case an attack should be made against the men on the ramparts, either during the day or at night, then the commanders who are encamped along the edges can form up on foot along with their fighting force in that empty space and come to their assistance. These commanders who are posted on the edges, along with the troops under them, should camp further to the outside of all the thematic troops, closer to the tents of the infantry, separated only by the road running down the middle which marks off the campsites of the cavalry and of the infantry. Then, in case of a sudden or unexpected enemy assault, they will easily be in a good position to link up shields and to support the troops at the ramparts. The hoplitarch should not only see that the patrols are made regularly but also that they are changed because of the great exertion involved, presuming, of course, that only trustworthy men are sent out by our holy emperor.

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<sup>1</sup>The hoplitarch, also called *archēgetēs*, seems to have commanded the infantry on campaign and was superior to the taxiarchs: *Listes de préséance*, 335.

## [4.]

The watch posts which have to be manned at night and during the day.

The customary outside watch posts and the ones that are located closer in should be staffed by infantry, javelin throwers, and archers. The inside ones should



βιγλα ἐχέτω ἄνδρας ὀκτώ, διστάμενα ἕκαστα ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ὥσει τόξου βολὴν ἢ καὶ μικρόν τι πλέον. τὰ δὲ ἐξώβιγλα μακρότερον στηκέτωσαν ἀπέχοντα τῶν ἐσωβίγλων μὴ πλέον λίθου βολῆς· ταῦτα δὲ ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἔστωσαν, ἅτινα καὶ καλοῦνται τετράδια. ἐκάστη

10 δὲ ταξιαρχία εὐτρεπίζειν ὀφείλει ἀνὰ πέντε ἐσώβιγλα καὶ ἐξώβιγλα διστάμενα κατὰ πλάτος ἀλλήλων ὥσει ὀργυιᾶς πεντήκοντα.

T 12

Αἱ δὲ ἔτι μακρότερον ὀφείλουσαι γίνεσθαι βίγλαι διὰ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ μαχίμου γινέσθωσαν, καὶ αἱ μὲν μετὰ | τοὺς πεζοὺς ἰστάμεναι πρῶται καὶ αὗται δι' ἐξ γινέσθωσαν ἱπποτῶν ἀπέχουσαι τῶν τε πεζικῶν ἐξωβίγλων, εἰ ὁμαλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ καθαρός ὁ τόπος ἐξ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος. αἱ δὲ πορρωτέρω γινόμεναι, αἱ καὶ ἐξώβιγλα καλοῦνται, τετράδια ἔστωσαν· αὗται δὲ ἔτι φαίνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν τεταγμένην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπίτωσαν. εἰ δὲ δύσβατος εἴη καὶ δασύς ὁ τόπος καὶ ἄνευ ὁδῶν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐστὶ περι | πατεῖσθαι, μόναι αἱ

V f. 240 20 ὁδοὶ ἀσφαλῶς μὴ πόρρω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου φυλαττέσθωσαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκείναι, ἂν ὧν ὑπόληψις ἐστὶ πολεμίους ἐπελθεῖν· εἰς μόνον δὲ τὰ μέρη, ἂν ὧν, ὡς εἴρηται, ὑποψία ἐστὶν ἐπελεύσεσθαι ἐναντίους, οἱ ἱππῶται φυλαττέτωσαν. τὰ δὲ λοιπά, τὰ κύκλω, διὰ μόνων γενέσθω τῶν πεζῶν.

25 Ἐχέτωσαν δὲ καὶ ἀρχηγούς τῶν χρησίμων, ἵνα καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν δεόντως αἱ βίγλαι τὰς στάσεις λαμβάνωσι καὶ κερκιτεύωνται πρὸς τὸ μὴ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀμελεῖν. εἰ δὲ τινα ἀπαγγελίαν αἱ βίγλαι κομίζουσι, μὴ περιδεῶς ἢ ἀτάκτως ὡς ἔτυχε περιπατεῖτωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀσφαλιζέσθωσαν τοῦ μήτε τοὺς κώδωνας διασεῖσαι μήτε τεταραγμένως εἰς τὸν

30 χάρακα εἰσελθεῖν, κἀντεῦθεν δειλίαν ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ἔνδον, ἀλλ' ἡρέμα τοὺς κώδωνας ὑπελθόντες ἀταράχως τῷ ἰδίῳ ταξιάρχῃ καὶ τῷ ὀπλιτάρχῃ ἀπαγγελλέτωσαν τὸ συμβάν, καὶ παρ' εὐθὺς ὁ μηνύων στελλέσθω παρ' ἐκείνων τῷ ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν νυκτί· τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ ἱππεῖς μόνον τὰς βίγλας ποιεῖτωσαν, πορρωτέρω δὲ καὶ μακρότερον, εἴπερ ὁ τόπος, ὡς εἴρηται, φανερός ἐστὶν

35 καὶ ἐπίπεδος.

4: B f. 220<sup>v</sup>. 5 τὰ δ' ἐσώβιγλα Graux: τὸ ἐσώβιγλον VSB || 10 ἐσώβιγλα Graux: ἐσωβίγλων VSB || ἐξώβιγλα Graux: ἐξωβίγλων VSB || 21–22 ἂν' . . . μέρη VS: om. B || 36 ἐπίπεδος VB: ἐπίποδος S

have eight men and should be situated about a bow shot, or a little bit more, from the fortifications. The outside watch posts, in turn, should be set up further off, but not more than a stone's throw from the inside ones. These should be comprised of four men, and are called *tetradia*. Each taxiarchy should arrange to have up to five inside and outside watch posts spread out some hundred meters apart from one another.

The watch posts that are supposed to be set up still further out should be composed of cavalry. The first of these, which are posted beyond the foot soldiers, should be made up of six horsemen and should be a good distance removed from the outside infantry posts, if the terrain is level and clear. The others who are still further out, and are designated as outside watch posts, should have four men. While it is still daylight they should head off to their assigned guard post for the night. If the ground is rough and overgrown and is not passable without roads, then only those roads which are not far from the camp should be securely guarded, especially those roads which we suspect the enemy would use to mount an attack. To repeat, have the horsemen stand guard only in those areas in which we suspect the enemy will make their advance. In the other sectors around the camp, the guard posts should comprise infantry alone.

These troops should have capable leaders who will see that they get to their posts and carry out their patrols properly and that the guard duty is not neglected. If the men in these posts bring in some information, they ought not to move about in great fear or in disorder in any direction, but they should be careful not to tinkle the alarm bells or come into the camp in such disarray that the troops within will become nervous. They should, rather, quietly slip by the bells, and then calmly announce what has happened to their own taxiarch and to the hoplitarch. These, in turn, should immediately send the man who has brought the news to our holy emperor. That is how it should be done at night. During the day the watch posts should be staffed by cavalry alone, a good distance further out, if, as was mentioned, the terrain is clear and level.

⟨ε'⟩.

T 13

5

Πὼς δεῖ σμικρύνεσθαι τὸ ἀπλήκτον ὀλοκλήρου τῆς πεζικῆς  
στρατιᾶς ὑπαρχούσης, τῆς δὲ ἱππικῆς ὀλιγοστῆς· πὼς δὲ ταύτης  
πολλῆς οὐσης, τῆς δὲ | πεζικῆς ἐλαχίστης, ἀναπληροῦν τὸ  
ἐνδέον καὶ ἀσφαλῶς περιφυλάττειν τὴν στρατιάν.

Εἰ δέ γε συμβῇ ὀλιγοστὸν εἶναι τὸ τῶν ἱππέων στράτευμα,  
τὸ δὲ πεζικὸν ὀλόκληρον, καὶ χώρος κενὸς ἔνδον οὐκ ὀλίγος κατα-  
λιμπάνεται, δεῖ τρεῖς ὀπλίτας ἰστᾶν εἰς τὴν μίαν ὀργυιάν καὶ ποιεῖν  
πύκνωσιν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου σμικρυνθήσεται ἀναλόγως τῷ πλήθει τῶν  
10 ἱππέων ὁ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου χώρος καὶ γενήσεται σύμμετρος.

Εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱππικὸν πλεῖον εἴη, τὸ δὲ πεζικὸν ὀλίγον ὥς μὴ  
ἐξικανεῖν τὴν στρατιάν δύο ἰσταμένων ὀπλιτῶν, δηλονότι καθ' ἑκά-  
στην ὀργυιάν, καθὼς ἐξεθέμεθα, διὰ τῶν ἡμίσεων ἀκοντιστῶν πασῶν  
τῶν ταξιαρχῶν μὴ ὁμοῦ ἰσταμένων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πέντε ὀπλίτας ἑνὸς  
15 εἰσαγομένου ἀκοντιστοῦ καὶ κατὰ μέτωπον τούτοις συνταττομένου ὁ  
τοῦ ἀπλήκτου μεγεθύνεται τόπος· οἶδε γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀριθμὸς  
ἐλαττοῦν καὶ αὐξάνειν τὸ ἀπλήκτον. |

5: B f. 221. 9 πύκνωσιν B: πύειν πύκνωσιν VS, sed S postea πύειν canc. || 14 ταξιαρχῶν  
Graux: ταξιαρχῶν VSB

⟨ς'⟩.

V f. 240v

Περὶ τῶν δώδεκα ταξιαρχῶν.

T 14

Εἰ δὲ δύο καὶ δέκα ταξιαρχαὶ ὦσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκστρατείᾳ καὶ τούτων  
ἑκάστη τοὺς ἀνὰ πεντακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ διακοσίους ἀκοντιστὰς  
5 καὶ τριακοσίους τοξότας ἔχει, ἀποτελοῦσι μὲν καὶ αὐταὶ τετράγωνον  
σχῆμα· ἕκαστα δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν εἰς ὀργυιάς ἀνὰ ἑπτακοσίας πεντή-  
κοντα τὸ μήκος ἀποτείνεται, δύο ὀπλιτῶν δηλαδή ἰσταμένων ἑκάστη  
ὀργυιά. ὁ δὲ μινσουράτωρ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα αὐτῷ τύπον μετρεῖν  
ὀφείλει μετὰ τοῦ σχοινίου ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὀργυιάς  
10 τριακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς δύσιν, εἴτα καὶ πρὸς  
ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίαν τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ καὶ τότε | κατὰ μέσον πῆξα-  
σθαι τὴν βασιλικὴν σκηνήν, καὶ διδόναι τῷ μὲν βασιλικῷ ἀπλήκτῳ  
ὀργυιάς διακοσίας δεκαεξὶ κατὰ τε εὖρος καὶ μήκος· ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς  
λοιποῖς τέσσαρσι μέρεσι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποδιδότω ἀριθμόν. πεντήκοντα  
15 δὲ κύκλῳ ὀργυιάς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐν ἑκάστῳ μέρει ἀφοριζέτω τοῖς τε

## [5.]

Reducing the size of the encampment when the infantry force remains at full strength but the cavalry force is small. And when the cavalry is strong but the infantry much less, how to make up for the deficiency and provide protection and security for the army.

If our cavalry force happens to be quite small, while the infantry is up to full strength, and this leaves a good stretch of empty space within the camp, then station three soldiers to two meters, bringing them closer together. In this way the space occupied by the camp will be reduced proportionately to the number of horsemen, and it will be of suitable size.

But if the cavalry is more numerous and the infantry force is so small that the army is not able to have one soldier stationed in each meter, as we had prescribed, then take half of the javelin throwers of all the taxiarchies and, instead of stationing them together, bring in one javelin thrower for every five soldiers and line him up with them along the front. This will expand the campsite. For it is the number of soldiers which makes the encampment smaller or larger.

## [6.]

Twelve taxiarchies.

If there are twelve taxiarchies on the expedition and each one of them has up to five hundred regular soldiers, two hundred javelin throwers, and three hundred archers, they should line up in the shape of a square. Each side should stretch out to some fifteen hundred meters in length, that is, one soldier to each meter. The *mensurator* ought to make his measurements according to the instructions given him with the cord, seven hundred and fifty meters from the middle to the east, the same to the west, then the same measurement to the north and to the south. The imperial tent should then be erected in the middle. Four hundred and thirty-two meters in width and in length should be given to the imperial compound. In like manner, the same number should be allotted to the other four sections. A hundred meters, as

κενοῖς χωρίοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν πεζῶν ἀπλήκτοις καὶ τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ διακρινούσῃ τὰς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν σκηναῖς.

- Δύο δὲ εἰσοδοὶ, ὅτε δώδεκα ταξιαρχαὶ ὦσι, καθ' ἑκάστην πλευρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εἰσίστησαν, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἢ καὶ βορειο-  
 20 τέρα κατέναντι τῆς τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου σκηνῆς μέχρι τοῦ κενοῦ χωρίου τῆς κόρτης φθάζουσα ἵσταται, ἐπιμιγνυμένη τῇ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου ἐρχομένη ἀνατολικωτέρᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ὁδῷ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δεξιαὶ ὁδοί, ἣ τε ἀνατολικὴ καὶ νότιος ἐξ ἐναντίας τῆς τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης σκηνῆς ἐπιμίγνυνται, παρόμοιον δὲ καὶ αἱ δυτικαὶ ταῖς δυσι  
 25 πλαγίσις. ὧδε ἐνοῦνται γαμματοειδῶς, καθὼς ἡ ἐκτεθεισά ἱστορία περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀναδιδάσκει. μέσον δὲ τῶν δύο δημοσίων ὁδῶν τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ πλευρῷ ἀποκεκριμένων, ὁδὸς ἀφορίζεσθαι στενὴ δύο ὀργυῖας εὖρος ἔχουσα καὶ τεμνέτω τὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπλήκτα καὶ ἄχρι τῆς κόρτης ἀπευθυνομένη εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποληγέτω,  
 30 ἵνα εὐχερῶς καὶ ἀκόπως πρὸς τὴν κόρτην συνέρχωνται ἕκαστοι εἰς τὰς τεταγμένας αὐτῶν διακονίας.

- Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τῶν τόπων ἀνεπιτηδειότης οὐ συγχωρεῖ πολλάκις τὸ ἀπλήκτον γενέσθαι τετράγωνον—ὑπεσχόμεθα δὲ ἀνωτέρω περὶ τῶν στενῶν καὶ ἀνεπιτηδεῖων τόπων ἐκθέσθαι πῶς δεῖ τὸ ἀπλήκτον ἐτέρως ἐν αὐτοῖς σχηματίζεσθαι—λέγομεν, ὅτι πολλάκις ἐτερόμηκες,  
 35 εἴτε καὶ τρίγωνον ἢ στρογγύλον πρὸς τὴν κατεπεύγουσαν χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν ἀποτελεῖται. εἰ δὲ ἔτι ὁ τόπος στενὸν πάντῃ | καὶ ἐπίμηκες αὐτὸ ποιεῖ, | ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὑπερκείμενον ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς ὅρος, εἰ μὲν τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενα βέλη φθάζουσι τὸ ἀπλήκτον, εἰ  
 40 τάχα καὶ ἔνδον τοῦ χάρακος εἰς τὸ κενὸν πίπτουσι χωρίον, δύναται τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦ ἀπλήκτου διατεθέντος πρὸς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ τόπου μίαν νύκτα εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐπισφαλῆ τόπον στῆναι πλὴν κατοχυρούσθαι τὸ ὑποπτον μέρος διὰ πλειόνων ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν, ἢν' εἴ ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιδραμόντες τῷ τοιούτῳ τόπῳ ποιήσαιεν νυκτο-  
 45 πόλεμον, οἱ τοῦ χάρακος ἀσθενεῖς μὴ εὐρεθῶσι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι. εἰ δὲ τὰ βέλη εἰς τὰς σκηναῖς εὐχερῶς ἐμπίπτειν δύνανται, ἀποφεύγειν δεῖ τοῦ μὴ ἀπληκεῖν εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους τόπους. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν στρατοπέδων νυκτὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπώλονται. διὰ τοῦτο χρεῖα ἐστὶν ἐρευνᾶν, ἐρωτᾶν, προμελετᾶν καὶ συμβουλευέσθαι μετὰ δου-  
 50 κατῶρων ἐμπείρων, καὶ ἐὰν εὐρίσκηται τόπος ἐπιτηδειότερος, εἰ τάχα καὶ μήκοθεν ἐστὶν, κινεῖτω καὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ μικρὸν παρεσπορευέτω, ἕως ἂν φθάσῃ εἰς τὸν ἐπιτήδειον τόπον, πλὴν μετὰ τῆς καθηκούσης φυλακῆς καὶ ἀσφαλείας ποιείσθαι τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν. τοῦτο δὲ τάχα γενήσεται πολεμίων ἐφόδου μὴ ὑφο-  
 55 ρωμένης ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· εἰ δὲ πολέμιοι προσδοκῶνται, ἐν στενοῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις τόποις νυκτὸς ὁδοιπορεῖν οὐ συμφέρον. κρεῖττον γὰρ εἰς τὸν πλησιέστερον καὶ ἐπισφαλῆ ἀπληκεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τόπον καὶ δύναμιν πεζικὴν ἀποστέλλειν τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀνε-

mentioned, in each quarter should be set aside for the empty spaces all around and for the campsites of the infantry and for the road dividing the tents of the cavalry from the infantry.

With twelve taxiarchies there should be two entrance ways running from the rampart on each side. One entrance way on the east, or even slightly to the north, should go from opposite the tent of the protovestiarios up to the empty space of the courtyard, intersecting there with the more eastern public road coming from the north. The rest of the roads on the right should be lined up in like manner. The eastern and southern roads coming from opposite the tent of the epi tes trapezes should intersect. In like manner, the roads on the west should reach to the two sides where they are joined at right angles, just as set forth in the instructions published about these and other matters. Between the two public roads which are set apart on each side, mark out one narrow road four meters wide. Have it cut through the tents of the cavalry up to the courtyard, going in a straight line until it reaches there. This makes it easier and less troublesome for individuals to go to the courtyard for their assigned service.

Since the terrain may often be such that it does not allow us to organize the camp in the shape of a square, we admit that there are many times when it must belaid out in some other shape, even a triangle or a circle, depending on the urgency and the lay of the land. We promised earlier to discuss narrow and difficult terrain and how to design a camp differently in such places. Suppose, now, that the site causes the camp to be very narrow and extended and that a nearby mountain overhangs it. If missiles shot from it can reach the camp, and if they fall in the empty spaces within the ramparts, the army, presuming that the camp has had to be set up according to the nature of the ground, may spend the night in that precarious position as long as it employs large numbers of soldiers and light troops to fortify that exposed section. Then, in case the enemy should mount an attack at night by charging in at that place, the men at the rampart will not be found weak and unprepared. But if the tents are within easy range of the missiles, then we must not set up camp in such a place. Many armies have been destroyed by attacks of that sort at night. For this reason it is necessary to investigate, ask questions, think ahead, and consult with experienced doukatores. If a more suitable site be found, even though it might be a good distance off, have the army move before dawn and march along a bit until it arrives at the suitable site, making sure, of course, that it has proper protection and security while on the march. This is possible if it has no cause to fear an enemy attack on that day. But if the enemy are expected, we ought not to march through narrow and difficult places at night. It is better to set up camp during the day in a location which is closer, although less safe, and to dispatch an infantry force of

ρευνήσασθαι καὶ κατασχεῖν τοὺς ἐπισφαλεῖς καὶ δασεῖς τε καὶ δυσκό-  
 60 λους τόπους ἐκείνους καὶ παντοίως μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλιζέσθαι  
 κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν νύκτα μὴ ἐναντίον τι συμβῆναι τῇ στρατιᾷ. |

6: B f. 221<sup>v</sup>. 2 ταξιαρχίων Graux: ταξιαρχῶν VSB || 14 ἀποδιδότω VB: ἀποδιδότων S || 25  
 ὦδε Vári: om. VSB || 28 στενή B: στενή στενή VS || 35 πολλάκις VS: πολλάκις τὸ ἀπλήκτον  
 ἐτέρως B || 39 αὐτοῦ BS: αὐτῶν V || 52 παρεσπορευέντω Graux: παρεσπερευέντω VSB || 56 ὁδοι-  
 πορεῖν VS: ὁδοιπορεῖαν B || 57 ἐπισφαλή VS: ἐπισφαλή καὶ B || 61 τι B: τις VS

(ζ'.)

T 16 "Οτι δεῖ ἐπισφαλῶν καὶ στενῶν τόπων ἀπαντῶντων εἰς δύο διαιρεῖν  
 ἅπασαν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ διχῶς ἀπληκεύειν.

Δεῖ δὲ ἐπισφαλοὺς τοσούτου ὄντος τοῦ τόπου ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ  
 5 διχῇ διαιρεθῆναι τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ἐν εὐρυ-  
 χώρῳ καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖν τόπῳ ἀπληκεύσαι, τῶν κενῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν  
 τετυπωμένων διαστημάτων ἀκριβῶς ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τμή-  
 μασι φυλαττομένων. τάξεις δὲ πεζικὰς τὰς ἀναλογούσας ἑκατέρω  
 τῶν ἀπλήκτων χρή διανεῖμαι πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλῶς κύκλῳ ἀμφοτέρω δια-  
 10 φυλάξαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐξαρκούσιν οἱ ὀπλίται, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν δεῖ  
 κατὰ μέτωπον τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐντάξαι ἄχρις ἂν συμπεριλάβωσιν ἔνδον  
 τὸ ὅλον ἱππικὸν στράτευμα. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀκρίβεια εἰς ἀμφοτέρω, ὥσπερ  
 V f. 241<sup>v</sup> εἴρηται, | τηρηθῇ τὰ ἀπλήκτα.

Προσθήκει δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐνδόξων συνέσει καὶ πείρα κεκο-  
 15 σμημένον ἐπιστῆσαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τμήματι τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὅστις κἀκείνῳ  
 τῷ μέρει ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ἐφαρμόζουσαν περιποιήσεται φυλα-  
 κήν. κρεῖττον γοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ ὠφελιμώτερον τὸ διηρημένως ἀπλη-  
 κεύσαι ἢ τὸ ἐσφιγμένως καὶ τὸν χάρακα ἔχειν τοῖς ὄρεσι προσεγγί-  
 ζοντα, κάντεῦθεν τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν πεμπόμενα βέλη εὐχερῶς ἐμπίπτειν  
 20 ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μεγίστην προξενεῖν τὴν βλάβην. εἰ  
 δὲ τὸ διορίζον ὅρος ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ἀπλήκτα διέλευσιν δίδωσι τοῖς βου-  
 λομένοις ἀπὸ ἐτέρου διαβαίνειν πρὸς ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ ἀλλήλοις ἐπι-  
 βοηθεῖν εἰ τύχοι ἔφοδον γίνεσθαι πολεμίων, ἴσως οὐδὲ δόξει διηρημέ-  
 25 φανήσεται. εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν τὸ διεῖργον ὅρος κωλύει τὴν πρὸς ἀλληλα  
 τῶν ἀπλήκτων διάβασιν, καὶ πορρωτέρω μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ  
 ἀπλήκτα | γίνεσθαι βιάσασαιτο, εἰ ἀγρύπνως καὶ κατὰ τὸ δέον ἑαυτοὺς  
 περιφυλάξαιεν, καὶ οὕτως οὐδεμία τούτοις τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι  
 30 ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' εὐαριθμήτου πληθύος ἐνίοτε εἰσελάσαν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ

T 17

archers and javelin throwers to reconnoiter and to occupy those dangerous, overgrown, and difficult places. All possible steps should be taken to secure the area that very night so that nothing harmful will happen to the army.

[7.]

On encountering dangerous and constricted terrain the entire army must be divided in two and must camp in two groups.

When an area is so obviously unsafe, then the army must be divided into two sections, with each one of them setting up camp separately in a spacious and suitable location. The regulations regarding the empty spaces and the distances must be observed exactly in the two segments of the army. Infantry formations, proportionate in size to each camp, must be detailed to protect both securely all around. If there are not enough of the regular soldiers for this, then some javelin throwers must be lined up along the front with them until the entire cavalry force is encircled by them. To repeat, the regulations must be followed exactly in both camps.

An outstanding officer, noted for intelligence and experience, ought to be put in charge of each of the two segments of the army. During that night he should make sure that his section has proper protection. At any rate, it is better and safer to encamp separately than to be tightly packed together and to have the camp set up close to the mountains, from which missiles can easily rain down upon the tents and cause very serious damage to the army. But if the mountain separating both camps permits passage for the troops who want to go from one to the assistance of the men in the other in case of an enemy attack, perhaps the camp will not even seem to be divided but will, because of the men supporting each other, appear as though it were unified. On the other hand, if the intervening mountain prevents passage from one camp to the other and makes it necessary for the camps to be further apart from one another, then, if they protect themselves vigilantly and in line with the regulations, by the grace of Christ no harm will come to them. For, just as it is not only with a powerful force but also at times even with a very small number of men that our



τὸ ἡμέτερον στράτευμα οὐδεμίαν ὑπέστη βλάβην, ἀλλὰ καλῶς συνετηρήθη, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί, εἰ τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρήσονται ἄγρυννία, οὐδεμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως ὑποστήσονται βλάβην.

7: B f. 222<sup>v</sup>. 3 τὴν VS: τῆς B || 13 εἴρηται VB: εἴρηται τῇ S || 16 τῷ B: τὰ VS || 28 περιφυλά-  
ξαιεν Graux: περιφυλάξοιεν VSB || 33 ἄγρυννία B: ἄγρυννίαν VS || διαιρέσεως Graux: αἰρέ-  
σεως VSB

### ⟨η' .⟩

Περὶ τοῦ ὅποσον ἀριθμὸν ὀφείλει  
ἔχειν τὸ ἵππικὸν στράτευμα.

Τὸ δὲ ἵππικὸν μάχιμον, εἵπερ ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ὀκτὼ χιλιάδων καὶ  
5 διακοσίων τῷ ἀριθμῷ, εἰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας αὐτὸ τάξεις δεῖ διαιρεῖν  
ἔχουσας ἀνὰ ἄνδρας τριακοσίους. ταύτας δὲ τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας τά-  
ξεις εἰς τέσσαρα πάλιν δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν, ἰσοδυνα-  
μοῦντα ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντα ἀνὰ ἕξ παρατάξεις, ἵνα τῆς στρατιᾶς  
ὁδονούσης ἀπάσης εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τό τε ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπι-  
10 σθεν καὶ τὰ πλάγια αἱ ἀνὰ ἕξ παρατάξεις ὁδοιπορῶσιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ  
βασιλέως παρατάξις ἐκτὸς τούτων ἔστω χιλίους ἔχουσα, | ἵνα τοῖς  
V f. 242 πονοῦσι μέρεσιν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἀποστέλλων  
παρατάξεως ἐπιβοηθῇ.

Εἰ δὲ πλεον εἴη τῶν ὀκτὼ χιλιάδων καὶ διάκοσίων ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἵπ-  
15 πικόν, αἱ εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη ἔνδον παρατάξεις αὕξησιν λαμβανέ-  
τωσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν βασιλέως ταξειδεύοντος μὴ μόνον ὀκτὼ  
χιλιάδας ἀριθμὸν ἔχειν τὸ ἵππικὸν στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείονας.  
ταύτας γὰρ τὰς ὀκτὼ χάριν τύπου μόνον τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων ἐξε-  
T 18 θέμεθα, ὥς χρησίμου ὄντος τοῦ τοιούτου τύπου ἐν ταῖς | μάχαις καὶ  
20 τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς εὐρυχώρους τόπους πολεμίων ἀπροόπτως  
συμπιπτόντων.

Εἰ δὲ ἐλάττων ἢ πληθὺς τῶν ὀκτὼ χιλιάδων καὶ διακοσίων ἀν-  
δρῶν ὑπάρχει, ἐλαττούσθωσαν καὶ αἱ τάξεις, καὶ ἀνὰ πέντε ἔστωσαν  
καθ' ἕκαστα τὰ μέρη. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔτι εἰς ἡττονα ἀριθμὸν ἀπαρτίζεται τὸ  
25 ἵππικὸν στράτευμα, ἕξ ἀνάγκης ἀνὰ τέσσαρας τάξεις ἕκαστα τὰ  
μέρη ἐχέτωσαν, πλὴν βασιλέως ἐκστρατεύοντος καὶ ὁ τῶν τεσσάρων  
παρατάξεων ἀριθμὸς καθ' ἕκαστα τὰ μέρη πάνν ὀλιγοστός ἐστιν. εἰ  
δὲ καὶ ἔτι εἰς ἐλάττονα ἀριθμὸν τὸ ἵππικὸν ἀπαρτίζεται στράτευμα,  
οὐ δεῖ βασιλέα μετὰ τοσούτου ὀλιγοστοῦ πλήθους ἐκστρατεύειν.

armed forces have invaded enemy territory, and they have come to no harm but have survived handsomely, in the same way in one night, if they are as watchful as they should be, they will suffer no harm from dividing their forces.

[8.]

The number of troops required in the cavalry arm.

If the mounted fighting force numbers 8,200 men, it should be divided into twenty-four units of up to three hundred men each. These twenty-four units, in turn, just as with the infantry, should make up four groupings of equal strength, each with six combat units. In this way, when the entire army is on the march, these six units can proceed along covering the four directions, front, rear, and the sides. The combat unit belonging to the emperor, which should number a thousand, is not included in this reckoning. He should thus be free to send troops from his own unit to support units which may be hard pressed in battle.

If the cavalry takes in more than 8,200 men, the combat units in the four divisions should be expanded. For when the emperor is campaigning it is necessary that the cavalry arm have a total of not merely 8,000 men, but it should have more. We laid down the number eight merely as a model for the twenty-four combat units, since it is a convenient model to work with for combat and for marching in broad, open terrain in which the enemy might unexpectedly fall upon us.

If the total is less than 8,200 men, then the units should be reduced, and there should be only five in each division. If the cavalry arm ends up with an even smaller number, then each division will have to be limited to four combat units. When the emperor is on campaign, however, only four combat units in each division is not nearly enough. If the cavalry arm should end up with an even smaller number, the emperor must not set out on campaign with such a small force.

8: B f. 222<sup>v</sup>. 10 αἱ VS: om. B || 13 ἐπιβοηθῇ VS: ἐπιβοηθεῖν B || 17 ἔχειν B: ἔχει VS || 24 ἡττονα Vári: ἡττον VSB || 26 ἐκστρατεύοντος VS: ἐκστρατεύσαντος B

(θ'.)

Πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τοῦ  
στρατοπέδου παντὸς ἀποκίνησιν.

Τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου ἀπᾶραι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, μικρόν τι  
5 πρὸ τῆς αὐγῆς ἡχείωσαν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἵνα πρὸς τὸ ὁδοιπορεῖν  
ἅπαντες εὐτρεπίζωνται. τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταῖς δημοσίαις ὁδοῖς ἀπλη-  
κεύοντας ἄρχοντας ἔξεστι προστάττειν τισὶ τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ ἐπιβάντας  
τῶν ἵππων παραφυλάττειν τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ κωλύειν καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν  
σαγμάρια ἢ παριππαράτους πληροῦν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἢ ἐξέρχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
10 στρέφειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀπλήκτα καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς κενὰς συντηρεῖν  
πρὸς τὸ ἀκωλύτως διαβαίνειν τὸ μάχιμον.

Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες, ὃ τε τῶν προηγουμένων τῆς στρατιᾶς τάξεων  
καὶ ὁ πλαγιοφυλάκων καὶ ὁ τοῦ σάκα ἀπερχέσθωσαν πρὸς τὴν κόρτην,  
καὶ εὐχὴν καὶ πρόσταξιν λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ  
V f. 242<sup>v</sup> 15 ἀγίου, πόθεν καὶ ὅπως δεῖ περιπατεῖν, | εἰς τὸν ἴδιον λαὸν ἀπερχέ-  
σθωσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς προπορευόμενος, ἡνίκα τὸ δευτέρον  
T 19 σαλπισθῇ, τὰς τρεῖς ἀνα|λαμβανόμενος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τάξεις καὶ δου-  
κάτωρας, ἐξίτω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, καὶ ἄχρι τόξου βολῆς διάστημα ἢ καὶ  
δύο μακρυνόμενος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου στηκέτω. στελλέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρ-  
20 χοντες τῶν πλαγιοφυλάκων ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἔνθεν ἀκαίθην ἀνὰ  
μιάς παρατάξεως καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ διάστημα τοῖς προπορευομένοις ποιή-  
σαντες στήτωσαν· τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σάκα ἄρχων ποιεῖτω μίαν ὀπι-  
σθεν ἀποστέλλων.

Τοῦτο δὲ λέγομεν οὐ δι' ὑποψίαν ἐφόδου μεγάλου φοσσάτου. τῶν  
25 γὰρ μεγάλων φοσσάτων αἱ ἐπελεύσεις τῷ πλήθει ταχὺ διαγινώσκον-  
ται, καὶ εἰ μὴ πάντῃ ῥάθυμός ἐστιν ὁ στρατηγός, ἀλλ' ἐργήγορος, τὰς  
φοσσατικὰς ἐφόδους οὐκ ἀγνοήσει ποτέ, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους  
τινὰς εἰ συμβῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀρπάσαι τι λάθρα παραγενομένους συγκεχυ-  
μένα τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ περισπασμένα τυγχανούσῃ, διὰ τὴν κίνησιν  
30 ταραχὴν τινα καὶ δειλίαν παράσχωσι.

Κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἡχὴν τῶν σαλπίγγων κατατιθέσθω  
ἡ βασιλικὴ σκηνή, εἰθ' οὕτως καὶ αἱ λοιπαί. οὐ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀρμό-  
ζον ἐστὶν ἑτέραν στήναί ποτε πηγνυμένου τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, οὔτε πάλιν  
τοῦ πλήθους κινεῖν μέλλοντος πρὸ ταύτης ἑτέραν πεσεῖν. ὁμοίως δὲ  
35 κατὰ τὸ δευτέρον σάλπισμα οἱ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἕκαστος, ἐπιφορ-

## [9.]

## Organizing the movement of the entire army from the camp.

When the expeditionary force is about to depart from the camp, a little while before dawn have the trumpets sound to get everyone ready to march. The officers encamped along the public roads may then order some of their own troops to mount their horses and guard the roads to prevent the pack animals or the men handling the horses from cluttering up the roads. They should not allow them to depart but should turn them back to their campsites and keep the roads clear, so the fighting men can pass by without hindrance.

The officer in command of the advance units of the army, the one commanding the flank guards, and the one in charge of the *saka*<sup>1</sup> should go off to the courtyard and receive their orders from our holy emperor about starting out and about the line of march and then head back to their own troops. When the trumpet sounds the second time the officer leading the army's march should ride out of the camp accompanied by three combat units and the *doukatores*. They should ride out to a distance of one or two bow shots from the camp and come to a halt. Let the commanders of the flank guards then send one of their combat units off to each side. They should go about the same distance as the ones who went out first, and then come to a halt. The officer in charge of the *saka* should do the same, sending one unit to the rear.

We are not prescribing this because we suspect that a large army may be about to attack. For assaults by large armies are quickly recognized because of their size. Unless he is unbelievably lazy, a general who is alert will never be unaware of an attack by an army. The reason for the above order is to keep small groups from sneaking up and stealing things while the army is distracted and confused by the process of moving. This would cause a disturbance and make the troops nervous.

Also at the second sounding of the trumpets, take down the imperial tent, and then all the rest. For, when camp is first set up it would not be proper for any other tent to be erected before it, so when everyone is getting ready to move, no other should come down ahead of it. Likewise, at the second trumpet blast, the men in the

τιζέτωσαν τοῖς ἀχθοφόροις ζώοις τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποσκευὴν καὶ στηκέ-  
 τωσαν εἰς τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀπλήκτα, ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὴν τρίτην ἡχὴν τῆς  
 σάλπιγγος καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου σὺν ταῖς ἵππικαῖς  
 τάξεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἐξοδον. ἔπειδ' ἂν δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἡχήσῃ, ἐπο-  
 40 χούμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος τῷ ἰδίῳ ἵππῳ ἐξίτω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου  
 μετὰ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ παρατάξεων.

9: B f. 223. 5 αὐγῆς Graux: αὐλῆς VSB || 9 σαγμάρια Graux: σακμάρια VSB || 10 στρέφειν  
 B: τρέφειν VS || αὐτοὺς Graux: αὐτὰς VSB || 11 διαβαίνειν B: διαβαίνει VS || 29 περισπασμένη  
 Vári: περισπασμένη VSB || 31 κατατιθέσθω Vári: τιθέσθω VSB || 35 ἐπιφορτιζέτωσαν VS: ἐπι-  
 φροντιζέτωσαν B

⟨ι'⟩

### Περὶ ὁδοιπορίας.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ αἱ μὲν ἐξ παρατάξεις ἅμα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 T 20 ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου προπορευέσθωσαν, ἀλλ' οὐ δίχα | τάξεως. τούτων γὰρ  
 5 ἡ μὲν μία ἐξ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος ἔμπροσθεν ὁδεύετω πρὸς τὸ βλέ-  
 πειν καὶ κατασκοπεῖν καὶ ὥς ἂν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στοχάσῃται καὶ  
 ἐφεύροι μηνύειν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ. τῶν δὲ ὑπολιμπανομένων  
 πέντε αἱ μὲν τρεῖς προπορευέσθωσαν, αἱ δὲ δύο ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν τῆς  
 V f. 243 τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου παρατάξεως κατό|πιν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 10 τεταγμένοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἀννέτωσαν. ἂφ' οὗ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ αἱ προηγούμεναι  
 ἵππικαὶ τάξεις ἀπάρχονται, παρανύτικα καὶ τὸ μέτωπον τῶν πεζῶν, τὸ  
 κατ' εὐθείαν τῆς ὁδοῦ κείμενον, κατὰ νῶτον αὐταῖς ἐπέσθω. αἱ δὲ  
 πλάγιοι πεζικαὶ καὶ τὸ ὀπισθεν τῆς συντάξεως μέρος, εἰ ὁ τόπος  
 ὁμαλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ εὐρύχωρος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου θέσιν καὶ τὸ  
 15 σχῆμα ὁδοιπορεῖτωσαν, περιέχουσαι μέσον τὸ ὑπουργικὸν ἅπαν σὺν  
 τοῖς ἀχθοφόροις ζώοις. ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ ἀποσκευὴ παντὸς προπορευέ-  
 σθω τοῦ ὑπουργικοῦ καὶ σημεῖον ἐχέτω χάριν γνωρίσματος· καθεξῆς  
 δὲ ταύτῃ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπακολουθεῖτω τῶν σκευοφόρων. αἱ δὲ τῶν πλα-  
 γιοφυλάκων παρατάξεις ἔσθωθεν μὲν πρὸς τὰς πλευρὰς τῶν πεζικῶν  
 20 τάξεων ἀνὰ τρεῖς ἐπόμεναι ἑτέρα θάτερα βαδιζέτωσαν. ἐξωθεν δὲ  
 τούτων ὁμοίως κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑτεραι τῷ ὁμοίῳ σχήματι ἀνὰ τρεῖς  
 πορευέσθωσαν. αὗται δὲ αἱ ἐξώτεραι καὶ πλαγιοφύλακες ἐξ παρατά-  
 25 ξεις τῶν δύο μερῶν ἀνὰ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐκάστη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ  
 ἀφοριζέτω καὶ μήκοθεν τούτους ἐν τοῖς πλάγιοις στελλέτω, ἵνα τὰ τῶν  
 πολεμίων πάντα διασκέπτωνται ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μέρεσι καὶ τοῖς μεγά-  
 λοις αὐτῶν ἄρχουσι πάντα διδάσκωσιν.

camp, each one of them, should load their own gear on the pack animals, station themselves by their campsites, and wait for the third blast of the trumpet, signaling the departure of our holy emperor with his cavalry units from the camp. When it sounds for the third time, our holy emperor should mount his horse and ride out of the camp with his combat units following him.

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<sup>1</sup>*Saka*, deriving from Arabic *saqat*, designated a sort of rear guard: see *Skirmishing*, Chap. 9, note 1.

### [10.]

#### On the march.

On the march the six combat units together with that of our holy emperor should lead the column in proper order. One of these units should ride on ahead a fair distance to observe, reconnoiter, and figure out what the enemy might be up to and then report its findings to our holy emperor. Of the remaining five units, three should march on ahead. The other two should form on each side of the unit belonging to our holy emperor and march along behind the forward units. As soon as the advance cavalry units begin the march, straightaway the front ranks of the infantry, which are lined up along the road, should follow behind them. The flanks of the infantry and the section behind the combat unit should, if the terrain is open and broad, march along according to their arrangement and the layout of the camp. All the servants and equipment should be in the middle with the pack animals. The baggage train of the emperor should precede all the other gear and should bear a special standard so it can be recognized. In due order it should be followed by the rest of the train with the equipment. Some of the formations of the flank guards should be on the inside toward the flanks of the infantry units and about three of them should march along in sequence one after the other. In like manner, to their outside three more units should proceed along the flanks, keeping the same formation. These six units of outside flank guards on the two sides should each detail about thirty men from among their troops and send them far out on the flanks, so they can watch out for any enemy activity in those areas and report everything to their superior officers.

Ὁ δὲ ἄρχων τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξ τῶν ὀπισθίων, τῶν καὶ σάκα κα-  
λουμένων, ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφορίσας ἑκατὸν μεθ' ἡγεμόνος τινὸς  
ἐμπείρου, ἐάτω ἀπὸ διαστήματος περιπατεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν, ἵνα καὶ  
T 21 30 αὐτοὶ κατασκοπῶσι τοῦ μὴ κατὰ νότον τούτοις ἀδοκήτως ἐπελθεῖν  
τοὺς πολεμίους. προσήκει δὲ διὰ τε τοὺς Ἄραβας καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους  
τοὺς θρασύτερον ἐφορμῶντας ταῖς παρατάξεσι πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν αὐτῶν  
εἰς ἑκάστην τῶν ἐξωτερῶ οὐσῶν δώδεκα παρατάξεων ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν  
πεντήκοντα τοξότας ἄνδρας πεζοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ταξιαρχιῶν τῶν μονο-  
35 μερῶς ἔχουσῶν τοὺς τοξότας ἀφορίσαντα διανεῖμαι τοῦ σὺν αὐταῖς  
ὁδοιπορεῖν.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐχέτω μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοξότας ὅσους ἂν βούληται·  
ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ Ῥῶς καὶ μαλαρτίους. εἰ δέ που κατὰ πάροδον ἐντύχοι  
χωρίους τὸ στράτευμα, ἐάτωσαν τοὺς ὑπουργοὺς πρὸς πορισμὸν ἀπιέ-  
40 ναι χρεῶν. εἰ δὲ μικρὸν τι παρεξέλθωσι διὰ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἐκτὸς  
τῆς ὁδοῦ συγκεῖσθαι χωρία, αἱ τῶν πλαγιοφυλάκων ἐξώτεραι τάξεις  
V f. 243<sup>v</sup> ἀπίτῳσαν πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν, τῶν σαλπύγγων τὸ ἀνα κλητικὸν  
ἡχουσῶν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰργουσῶν τοῦ μὴ ὁδοιπορεῖν, ἀλλὰ προ-  
σμένειν τὴν τῶν ὑπουργῶν ἄφιξιν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἄθροισιν ἐχέ-  
45 σθω τῆς ὁδοιπορίας.

Εἰ δὲ στενωπὸς ἀπαντήσοι τόπος, ἡ μακρότερόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπλή-  
κτον εἴτε διὰ χώρας ἀνεπιτηδειότητα ἢ δι' ὑδάτων ἔνδειαν, καὶ τὸ  
μῆκος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ὀξυτέραν ποιοῦν τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀναγκάσει λε-  
πτυνθῆναι τὸν ἀπόλεμον λαὸν καὶ διαλυθῆναι τὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις, ἅτε  
50 εἰς μῆκος ἐπεκτεινομένων τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων, δεῖ τότε  
ὥς μὴ ἐξικανούσας τὰς ἀνὰ τρεῖς πλαγίους πρὸς παραφυλακὴν αὐτῶν  
δίκεν ὀρμαθοῦ πάσας γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνὰ ἕξ ἐν ἑκατέροις τοῖς μέρεσιν  
εἰς μῆκος γενομένης κατὰ νότον ἐφέπεσθαι τὰς τάξεις ἀλλήλαις. εἰ  
δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεκτείνονται καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρὰ τῶν ἀνὰ ἕξ ἐφ'  
55 ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν οὐ φυλάττονται, δέον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προπορευο-  
μένων δύο τάξεις ἐνθεν ἀκείθεν εἰσελθεῖν κατὰ στοῖχον, καὶ ἀπὸ  
τῶν τοῦ σάκα ὁμοίως ἐτέρας δύο ὥς γενέσθαι τὰς πλαγίους ἀνὰ ὀκτὼ  
στοιχηδὸν πορευομένας, εἴτουν κατ' ὀρδινον καὶ διισταμένας ἀλ-  
λήλων ὥσει τόξου | βολὴν ἢ καὶ δύο πρὸς τὴν κατεπεύγουσαν χρεῖαν.  
T 22 60 εἰ δὲ καὶ πλέον παρεκτείνονται ὁ λαός, μικρὸν ἀναμενέτω ὁ βασιλεὺς  
ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος φθάσαι τοὺς ὀπισθεν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ὀξεὶ καὶ  
συντόνῳ ἐκλύωνται, ἄλλως τε δὲ μὴ καὶ ἀφυλάκτοις τούτοις οὐσι  
περιτυχόντες ἴσως οἱ Ἄραβες ἢ καὶ οἱ Τούρκοι καταβλάψωσι.

Μετὰ δὲ <τὸ> εἰς τὸ ἀπλήκτον ἀφικέσθαι μὴ παρ' εὐθὺ αἱ τάξεις  
65 καταλύονται, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν παρεκβαίνουσαι κυκλόθεν ἰστάσθωσαν  
τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, ἵνα τὸ ὑπουργικὸν ἅπαν καταλαβὸν πῆξωνται τὰς  
σκηνάς. ἅφ' οὗ δὲ τὸ ἀπλήκτον καταστή, αἱ μὲν λοιπαὶ τάξεις εἰσί-  
τωσαν, ἀνὰ δύο δὲ ἕξ ἑκατέρων τῶν πλαγίων καὶ μία τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
ἐξῴθεν ἰστάσθωσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος μετὰ

The commanding officer of the other six units to the rear, called the *saka*, should detail a hundred men under an experienced leader. He should have them ride around a distance to the rear, so they too can be on the lookout and prevent the enemy from making an unexpected attack from behind. To ward off the very bold onslaughts of Arabs and Turks on our units, it is a good idea to assign about a hundred and fifty foot archers from those taxiarchies composed exclusively of archers to each of the twelve battle units on the outside and have them march along with them.<sup>1</sup>

Let the emperor have with him as many archers as he wishes. Let him also have some Rhos and *malaritioi*.<sup>2</sup> If the army comes upon some villages along its route, he may have some of the service units go off to procure necessities. If they have to go off for a short distance because the villages are off to the side and outside their line of march, the outside units of the flank guards should head off to protect them. At the same time, the trumpets should sound retreat to keep the army from continuing its march, and it should await the return of the men from the service units. On their return the army should resume its march.

The road may become narrow, or difficult ground or the lack of water may force us to plan on locating our next camp a good distance off. Such distance from the campsite may make the army quicken its pace and cause the number of noncombatants to be reduced and the infantry formations to be broken up, inasmuch as the distance puts a great strain on the infantry and the baggage carriers. In that case, since the three flanks are not enough to protect them, they should all line up like a chain, becoming about six long on each of the sides, the units following along one behind the other. But if they are still stretched rather thin and are not securely protected by the six units on each side, then two units from the advance party on each side should form in a column, another two from the *saka* should do likewise, so as to make eight flank units marching in column. They should remain in order, keeping at a distance of a bow shot or two from each other, depending on the urgency of the situation. If the troops are extended even further, then let our holy emperor wait a little so that the men to the rear can catch up and not simply fall apart because of the speed and intensity of the march. Otherwise, it is quite possible that the Arabs or even the Turks might fall upon these troops while they are unprotected and cause grave injury.

On arriving at the campsite they should not break up their formation right away, but some units should step aside a bit and stand in a circle around the campsite, in order that the whole service unit, once it has arrived, might set up the tents. As soon as the camp is set up, the rest of the units enter. But a couple of them from the flanking units and one from the forward units should take up their positions outside. Our holy emperor, however, with his entourage should, unless some other task demands his attention, station himself in a convenient place and get a good look at everything while waiting for the *saka*. When the *saka* arrives, everyone should go inside.



- 70 τῆς οἰκείας, εἰ μὴ δουλεία τις ἐτέρα πρόκειται ἀναγκαία, ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω τόπῳ ἱστάμενος πάντα κατασκοπεῖτω καὶ προσμενέτω τὸ σάκα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σάκα ἄφιξιν εἰσερχέσθωσαν ἅπαντες.

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10: B f. 223<sup>v</sup>. 10 τεταγμένοι Vári: τεταγμένοι VSB || 12 αὐταῖς Vári: αὐτῆς VSB || 20 ἐτέρα θάτερᾱ Vári: θατέραι τῇ ἐτέρᾱ VSB: ἐτέρα τῇ ἐτέρᾱ Graux || 22 πορευέσθωσαν VS: πορευέσθωσαν B || 25 διασκέπτωνται Graux: διασκέπωνται VSB || 27 ἄρχων B: αἰχων VS || 34 ταξιαρχῶν Graux: ταξιαρχῶν VSB || 47 χώρας Vári: χώραν VSB: χωρῶν Graux || 48 ποιῶν VSB: ποιῶντα conj. Vári || 64 τὸ<sup>1</sup> Graux: om. VSB

### ⟨ια'⟩

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖν ὅτε γνωσθῶσι πολέμιοι ἐν νυκτὶ  
βούλεσθαι ἐπελθεῖν τῷ χάρακι.

- V f. 244 5 Εἰ δέ γε τοὺς πολεμίους νύκτωρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος ἐπελθεῖν | διαγνῶ, λόχους εὐτρεπισάτω μὴ πάνυ μακρὰν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, ἵν' ὅτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ συμβάλλωσι τοῖς τοῦ χάρακος, ⟨ῆ⟩ ἐκ πλαγίου ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐπελθόντες ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων περιτρέψωσι κεφαλὴν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τρέψασθαι τῇ κατ' αὐτῶν διώξει μὴ χρήσθωσαν· ἀνωφελὲς γὰρ ἐν νυκτὶ τοῦτο.
- T 23 10 Δεῖ δὲ καὶ συνθήματα καὶ γνωρίσματα ἔχειν τοὺς | στρατιώτας, ὅπως ⟨μὴ μόνον⟩ σκότους γινομένων πολέμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὁμίχλης ἢ κονιορτῶν ἐπεγειρομένων ἐκ τῶν εἰθισμένων παρασῆμων ἕκαστος τὸν ἄλλον ἐπιγινώσκοντες εὐδιάκριτοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμπλεκομένων δυσμενῶν ὑπάρχουσι.

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11: B f. 224<sup>v</sup>. 6 ἢ ἐκ<sup>1</sup> Vári: ἐκ VSB || 11 μὴ μόνον Vári: om. VSB

### ⟨ιβ'⟩

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἴπερ ὁδοιπορούσης τῆς στρατιᾶς πολέμιοι μετὰ βαρείας δυνάμεως ταύτῃ ἐπέλθωσι.

- Τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς ὁδοιπορούσης ἐὰν πολεμίων ἔφοδος δηλωθῇ τῷ  
5 ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ μετὰ ⟨βαρείας⟩ δυνάμεως ἐπιούσα, οὐ καλὸν ἐστὶ συμβάλλειν τούτοις ἀπτόμενον τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν προστάξαι καταθέσθαι τὸν φόρτον τοῖς ὑπουργοῖς, εἶτα τὴν βασιλικὴν σκη-

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<sup>1</sup>At this period the Arabs would be the Muslims along the Byzantine borders in Syria and what is now Iraq. By Turks are meant the Hungarians (Magyars) north of the Byzantine frontiers in the Balkans. See G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Berlin, 1958), 1, 131–45; *De administrando imperio*, index; *DAI Commentary*, 13–14.

<sup>2</sup>Since the ninth century Norsemen had traveled down the Dnieper to serve as mercenaries. Many became enrolled in regular units of the Byzantine army, of which the Varangian guard, founded about 988, was the most famous. Sometimes called Russians, the Greek sources usually refer to them as Rhos. See *De administrando imperio*, index; *DAI Commentary*, 16–23; S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, trans. and rev. by B. Benediktz (Cambridge, 1978).

The *malartioi*, as the Rhos, probably formed a tagma of perhaps three to five hundred troops. The word is otherwise unknown. A document of October 1079 concerning certain monks on Cos equates soldiers called *malartioi* with the *kontaratoi*, troops who fought with spear, sword, and shield, as opposed to archers: F. Miklosich–J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90), 6, no. 8, p. 23.

### [11.]

The procedure to follow when it is known  
that the enemy plan to attack the  
fortified camp at night.

If our holy emperor should find out that the enemy plan to attack at night, let him organize ambushes not very far from the camp. When the enemy charge up against the troops on the rampart, attacking either from the flank or from the rear, their hostile intentions will be turned around to fall on their own heads. But after repelling the enemy, let us not get involved in pursuing them, for at night this is useless.

The soldiers should have passwords and signs of recognition, so that, not only when fighting takes place in the dark but also in the daytime when it is foggy or clouds of dust are stirred up, by means of customary signs each man can recognize the other and they can be clearly distinguished from hostile combatants.

### [12.]

The procedure to follow if a very large enemy  
force attacks the army on the march.

If, while our army is on the march, it should be reported to our holy emperor that an attack by a very large enemy force is imminent, it would not be wise for him to attack them while still on the road. First, he should order the servants to put down

νήν, καὶ τινας τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλων ἀνεγεῖραι, καὶ τότε δεόντως  
καθοπλισθεῖσαν καὶ συνταχθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιάν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν  
10 πόλεμον, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ διδόντος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τρέψασθαι. Εἶπερ ἐν ᾧ  
ἔστησαν τόπῳ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔστι, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δίωξιν ὁ τοῦ  
ὑπουργικοῦ κατάρχειν λειψθεῖς ἡμῶν ἡγεμῶν δηλωθεῖς ἀπίτω πρὸς  
τὸ δηλωθὲν ἀπλήκτον.

12: B f. 225. 3 ἐπελθῶσι VS: ἐπέλθως B || 5 βαρείας Graux: om. VSB || 8 τινας τῶν Vári:  
τινων VSB || 12 ἡμῶν VS: om. B || ἡγεμῶν B: om. VS || 13 τὸ VB: τὸν S

⟨ιγ'.⟩

Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀνύδροις τόποις  
ὁδοιπορεῖν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων.

Καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰδέναι δεῖ, ὅτι πολεμίων προσδο-  
T 24 5 κωμένων ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀνύδροις τόποις εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸ στρά-  
τευμα, καὶ μάλιστα θέρους ὥρᾳ· χειμῶνος μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἡμέραν  
ὀλόκληρον ἄνευ ὕδατος καρτερήσουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ θερινῷ καιρῷ οὐδὲ  
μέχρις ἀρίστου, ἀλλὰ συναπολοῦνται τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι.  
δεινὸν οὖν ἐστὶ δυσι πολέμοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοῦναι (τὸν) τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγω  
10 καὶ τὸν τοῦ καύσωνος ὑδάτων ἐπιλειπόντων. ἀλλ' εἰ δεήσει, καὶ  
κόπον τριῶν ἢ καὶ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν προκρινάτω τῆς συντετμημένης  
ἐκείνης καὶ ἀνύδρου ὁδοῦ. κρεῖττον γὰρ κόπον αἰρετισάμενον δι'  
ἐκείνης τῆς μακρᾶς καὶ ἀκινδύνου ἀσφαλῶς ὁδεῦσαι ἢ προκρίναντα  
τὴν σύντομον κινδύνῳ περιπεσεῖν.]

13: 9 τὸν Vári: om. VSB || 10 τὸν Vári: τὸ VSB

⟨ιδ'.⟩

V f. 244<sup>v</sup>

Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἀπαντήσῃ στένωμα ἢ γεφύρας καὶ  
ποταμοῦ βαθέος περαίωσις, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.

Τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ οὔσης ὡς λέλεκται, εἰ παρὰ τῶν  
5 δουκατέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς μάθοι τῇ ἐπιούσῃ στενῷ μέλλειν ἀπαντᾶν  
τόπῳ ἢ γεφύρᾳ ἢ ποταμῷ βαθὺν πόρον ἔχοντι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στενῷ τάξεις

the baggage, then the imperial tent. He should assemble some of the higher-ranking officers, and then, when the army is properly armed and drawn up, lead it out to battle. With God's favor he will repel the enemy. If there is no water in the place in which they have stopped, after pursuing the enemy, our leader who has been left in charge of the baggage train should be informed, and he should head off to the designated campsite.

[13.]

The risk involved in marching through regions  
without water while the enemy is on the move.

In addition to other things, this too must be borne in mind: When the enemy are expected it is dangerous to lead the army through places in which there is no water, especially during the summer. In the winter the troops can often last for the whole day without water but in the summertime, not even to the noon meal. The men will perish along with the horses. It is a terrible thing to have to engage in two battles. I mean the one against the enemy and the one against the heat when water is lacking. If it should be necessary, however, they should choose a laborious route of three or four days to that shorter one which has no water. For it is preferable to march safely but laboriously along that long road which presents no danger than to choose the short one and fall into danger.

[14.]

The procedure to follow if the army comes  
to a narrow place or has to cross a  
bridge or a deep river.

With the army in hostile territory, as mentioned, suppose that the *doukatores* inform the emperor that on the next day it will come to a narrowing of the road, a bridge, or a river with a deep ford. In the case of the narrow passage, units of infan-

- πεζικὰς προαποστελλέτω τούτου ἀσφαλῶς κρατῆσαι, εἰ δὲ βούλοιτο μὴ τελείαν παθεῖν τὰς τάξεις σύγχυσιν ἀναμιγείσας ἀλλήλαις ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ, χρή προστάξει ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας πῶς δεῖ κατὰ τάξιν διελθεῖν
- 10 αὐτάς. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἀφοριζέτω ταξιαρχίαν καὶ κελευσάτω αὐτῇ ὁδεύσαι ἔμπροσθεν μετὰ τῆς προπορευομένης ἐξ ἔθους ἱππικῆς πασῶν τῶν λοιπῶν τάξεων καὶ καθεξῆς τυ|πωσάτω ἀλλήλαις ἐπο-  
 T 25 μένας τὰς τάξεις ἐν καταστάσει τὴν στενοχωρίαν διέρχεσθαι. εἴτα καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐνδόξων προσταξάτω ἔμπροσθεν γενέσθαι καὶ
- 15 καταλαβεῖν τὴν προπορευομένην πασῶν τῶν τάξεων ἱππικὴν καὶ στήναι, εἰ μὲν γέφυρα τύχοι, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ πόρος, ἐν τῷ χεῖλει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅπως παρασκευάσῃ ἀκινδύνως καὶ μετὰ τάξεως διέρχεσθαι τὸν λαόν· κἀκεῖσε προσμενέτω εἴτε ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερος, ἕως ἂν ἅπας ὁ λαὸς περαιωθῇ.
- 20 Τῶν δὲ πλαγιοφυλάκων αἱ μὲν δεξιαί ἱππικαὶ τάξεις κατόπιν γενέσθωσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν διελθάτωσαν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους πεζικὴ τάξις μετὰ τὸ διελθεῖν τὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ νῶτον ἐπομένη τούτῳ πορευέσθω. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὸ τῶν σκευοφόρων πλῆθος, εἴθ' οὕτως τὸ ὀπισθεν τῆς συντάξεως μέρος,
- 25 καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀριστερόν τῶν πεζῶν πλάγιον, ἅφ' οὗ δὲ τὰ δύο ταῦτα μέρη περαιωθῶσι τῆς συντάξεως, διαβήτωσαν αἱ πλαγιοφύλακες ἀριστεραὶ τῶν ἱππέων τάξεις. ἐσχάτη δὲ πάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν, ταξιαρχία μία πεζῶν ἐπακολουθεῖτω.

Καὶ οὕτως ἐν τάξει τὰς στενοχωρίας διελθέτωσαν, καὶ μὴ ἐνού-  
 30 σθωσαν αἱ τάξεις ἑτέρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ συμμιγνύμεναι πρὸς τὸ σύγχυσίν τινα ὑποστήναι, μήτε μὴν τῷ ὑπουργικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀχθο|φόροις ἀνα-  
 S f. 268 μιγνύσθωσαν. ἅφ' οὗ δὲ τὸν στενωπὸν ἢ ποταμὸν ἢ ὅπερ ἂν τύχῃ δύσκολον εἶναι διέλθωσι, τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τόπων κατὰ τάξιν ὁδοιπορεῖτωσαν. |

14: B f. 225<sup>v</sup>. 6 ποταμῷ Graux: ποταμῶν VSB || 7 τούτου Vári: τούτων VSB || 8 ἀναμιγείσας Graux: ἀναμιγείσαις VSB || 10 κελευσάτω VB: λευσάτω S || 27 ἐσχάτη Dulac apud Graux: ἔσχαται VSB: ἔσχαται. ἐσχάτη conj. Vári || 34 ὁδοιπορεῖτωσαν des. V

⟨ιε'⟩

T 26 Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπάγεσθαι πλῆθος ἄργον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ.  
 B f. 226

Σφαλερόν δὲ καὶ ἐπιβλαβές, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς δοκεῖ καὶ ἡμῖν ἢ πείρα παρέστησε, τὸ ἄργον καὶ ἀπόλεμον ἐπιφέρεισθαι  
 5 πλῆθος ἐν πολεμίᾳ, καὶ φόρτον παρὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν καὶ

try should be sent out ahead to occupy it securely. If the emperor does not want his troops to become totally confused by getting mixed up with one another in the difficult terrain, he should issue orders in the evening about how they are to proceed through in an orderly manner. First, he should detail a taxiarchy and command it to march on in front along with the cavalry unit which usually precedes all the other units. Let him then stipulate how the units, following one another, should pass through the narrow places in an orderly manner. A very good officer should then be ordered to the front, overtake the cavalry which is leading all the units, and take his stand. If it is a bridge we are crossing, he should stand at its head, if a ford, then on the riverbank, so he can make sure that the people will get across without danger and in good order. Let him, or a substitute, remain there until all the troops have crossed.

The cavalry units from the flank guards on the right should get behind the emperor and cross over after him. After the front of the phalanx has crossed, the infantry unit on the same side should proceed, following behind it. After this should come the train carrying the equipment. Next should be the rear section of the units on that side, with the left flank of the infantry behind it. As soon as these two divisions of the force have crossed, the cavalry units of the left flank guards ought to pass over. Last of all, as in the beginning, have one taxiarchy of foot soldiers follow along.

In this way, then, have them pass through the narrow place in order. Do not let the units join together or get mixed in one with the other, which will only cause confusion, and especially do not let them get mixed up with the baggage train and the pack animals. Once they have passed through the narrow road or river, or whatever the difficult place might be, have each man get back to his own place, and continue the march in good order.

[15.]

Not leading a crowd of useless people  
in hostile territory.

It is extremely harmful, as it seemed to the ancient authorities and as experience has proven to us, to bring along a useless crowd of noncombatants in hostile territory, or more baggage than is really needed, or a large number of mules, asses,

- ὄχλον ἡμιόνων καὶ ὄνων καὶ καμήλων ἔχειν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρα, ἐν ἧ καὶ κλεισοῦραι ὑλώδεις καὶ δύσβατοι καὶ ὁδοὶ στενότητα πολλὴν ἔχουσιν, ἃς εἰ μέλλει διοδοεῖν ἡ στρατιὰ, ἀργίαν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὑφίσταται τρόπου. τὴν γὰρ ὁδὸν τῆς μιᾶς ἡμέρας, 10 ὅπότ' ἂν τὸ ἀργὸν ἐπιφέρηται πλήθος καὶ τὸν παράλογον καὶ τρυφήλὸν φόρτον τὴν τε ἀνόνητον καὶ πολυτελεῖ ἀποσκευὴν, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς τέσσαρας ἑξαγύσειεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποταμῶν τοὺς βαθεῖς καὶ τελματώδεις ἐν τῷ περαιουῖσθαι ἢ γεφύρας διαβαίνειν ἀργίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐκ τοῦ ἀργοῦ πάσχει πλήθους. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰς τροφάς, ἃς ἔχρην 15 καταναλίσκειν τὸ μάχιμον μετὰ τοῦ συμμέτρου καὶ χρειώδους ὑπουργικοῦ, τὸ ἀργὸν πλήθος καταδαπανῶν ἔνδειαν ταχυνὴν ποιεῖ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἄπρακτον ὑποστρέφειν καταναγκάζει· καὶ ὅπερ πολ- λάκις οὐδὲ βαρεῖα ἐχθρῶν δύνανται κατορθῶσαι ἴσχυσεν ἂν, μόνῃ ἢ ἐξ ἀβουλίας ἔνδεια κατεργάζεται. οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν κόπον ἀκηδι- 20 ῶντες καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδιότες φήμας καὶ ῥήματα ἐξάγουσι βλαβερὰ σπεύδοντες καὶ πάντα μηχανώμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἐγγωροῦν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνατρέψαι βουλὰς καὶ σύντομον γενέσθαι τὴν ὑποστροφήν.

15: 6 καὶ ὄνων S: om. B

⟨ις' .⟩

T 27

Περὶ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης πανοπλίας.

- Οὐ καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἀποσιωπῆσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς πολυ- τελείας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀχρηστίας τῶν τεθρυμμένων πανοπλιῶν, καὶ τοῦ 5 ἀργοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου τοῦ πρὸς κόσμον καταβαλλομένου τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν ἀργυρῶν σκευῶν τῶν διὰ περπερείαν παρ' ἐνίων ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ βασταζομένων· ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰ προ- σήκοντα ὑπομνήσαι. ἐκείνων μόνων ἐστὶν χρεῖα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων S f. 268<sup>v</sup> πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ χρησίμων, ἵππων ἀρίστων, | θωράκων ὀχυρῶν καὶ 10 περικεφαλαίων φασγάνων τε καλλίστων, ἐν οἷς ὁ σίδηρος μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ὑλῶν πλεονεκτεῖ. ἡ δὲ ἀνόνητος πλησμονὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου πρὸς τῷ ζημιῶν καὶ πενίαν προξενεῖν τῷ στρατεύματι B f. 226<sup>v</sup> πάντῃ τὸ περιττὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς | ἐν τοῖς τῶν πολέμων καιροῖς ἔχει, καὶ εὖροις ἂν φιλοπόνως τὰς ἱστορικὰς βίβλους ἀνερευνώμενος τοὺς 15 ἐγεύραντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις μεγάλα τρόπαια Ἑλλήνας καὶ Ῥωμαίους πᾶσαν λιτότητα εἰς τε τὰς διαίτας καὶ τὰ σκευὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας.

or camels. This is especially true in the land of the Bulgarians, in which there are rugged, wooded mountain passes with very narrow roads. If an army plans to traverse these roads, such a crowd will greatly slow it down. When the army brings along a useless crowd, unnecessary baggage, luxury items, expensive equipment which serves no purpose, then a journey of one day will not be completed even in four. In crossing deep or swampy rivers, moreover, or passing over bridges the army will suffer no little delay because of the useless crowd. Then, too, there is the food supply which ought to be for the use of the fighting men along with a moderate number of necessary servants. But a useless crowd will devour that and swiftly reduce the army to want and force it to return home without having achieved anything. And so, often what even a strong force of the enemy has been unable to accomplish is brought about by want alone which stems from thoughtlessness. They are the very people who, growing weary of the work and fearful of the enemy, hasten to spread rumors and harmful stories, and they devise whatever tricks they can to overturn the plans which are in the interest of the emperor and to bring about a quick return.

### [16.]

#### Proper armament.

We ought not to pass over in silence the extravagance, the uselessness rather, of luxurious suits of armor, and the idle decorations of gold and silver placed over the horses, and the useless silver vessels some people bring with them into hostile territory for vain display. Even about this it is helpful to be reminded of what is fitting. One needs only those things which are suitable and useful for fighting, namely, the finest horses, strong breastplates and helmets, the best swords, and the most important material in these should be plain iron. The useless abundance of gold and silver, in addition to causing harm and reducing the army to poverty, is entirely superfluous and of no benefit in time of war. If you study the historical books carefully, you will find that the Greeks and the Romans, who won great victories in their wars, were extremely plain in their life-style, equipment, and weapons.



16: 13 πολέμων Graux: πολεμίων SB || ἔχει Graux: ἔχουσα Vári: ἔχουσι SB || 17 ἔχοντας Graux: ἔχοντες SB

⟨ιζ'.⟩

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν τοὺς εὐτελεστέρους  
τῶν ἀρχόντων σκηνάς.

T 28

Τὸ δὲ καὶ σκηνάς ἐν πολεμίᾳ τοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐτελεστέρους  
5 ἐπιφέρεισθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρᾳ, οὐδαμοῦ τὸ  
εὐχρηστον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἔχει, εἰ μὴ εἰς τὸ τοῖς μέλλουσι κατασκο-  
πεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν φαντασίαν διδό | ναι μόνον πληθύν οὐκ ὀλίγην  
εἶναι λαοῦ. κατὰ δὲ τὸ τὴν χώραν, ὡς εἴρηται, δυσπάροδοι εἶναι καὶ  
σιτίων φέρειν ὀλιγότῃ εἰς τοὺς εὐτελεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
10 βλάβην οὐκ ὀλίγην φέρει. ἀνθ' ὧν γὰρ ὀφείλουσιν ἐπικομίζεσθαι  
ἡ χρείας, καὶ τὴν σκέπην αὐτῶν ἀπὸ καλυβῶν ἔχειν λυγίνων ἔν τε ἔαρι  
καὶ καύσωνι, ταύτας μάταιον ἔχοντες φόρτον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐλ-  
λιπεῖς, ὅτε χρεία καλεῖ, καθίστανται.

17: 8 τὸ B: om. S || 11 ἔαρι Vári: ἀέρι SB

⟨ιη'.⟩

Περὶ δουκατῶρων καὶ κατασκόπων.

Ἐπειδὴ δέ τινος τῶν συντεινόντων πρὸς κοινὴν τῷ στρατῷ λυσι-  
τέλειαν οὐ καλὸν ἀμελεῖν, δεόν καὶ δουκάτῳρας ἐμπείρους καὶ συνε-  
5 τοὺς ἔχειν, καὶ τούτους εὐεργετεῖν παντοίως τε προνοεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντι-  
λαμβάνεσθαι· δίχα γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐδέν τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν κατορθοῦται.  
τοιούτους δὲ φαμεν δουκάτῳρας οὐχὶ τοὺς ἀπλῶς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιστα-  
μένους—τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῶν εὐτελῶν τις καὶ (τῶν) ἀγροτῶν δύναται  
ποιεῖν—ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυναμένους πρὸς τῷ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπίστασθαι (καί)  
10 καλῶς κυβερνήσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς τὴν τῶν κλεισουργῶν διέ-  
λευσιν, προνοεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἰδέναι τὰ σύμμετρα τῶν ἀπλήκτων δια-  
στήματα καὶ χώρων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους καὶ ὑδάτων ἀφθονίαν ἔχοντας  
πρὸς τὸ ἀστενοχώρητον τὸ ἀπλήκτον γίνεσθαι, ἔχειν τε ἀκριβῆ

**[17.]**

The lower-ranking officers should not  
have tents with them.

Having the lower-ranking officers transport their tents along with them in hostile territory, especially in that of the Bulgarians, is by no means helpful or appropriate. The only reason would be to give potential spies the impression of a force of considerable size. But, inasmuch as the country, as mentioned, is difficult to traverse and does not furnish much in the way of provisions, this can cause no little harm to the lower-ranking soldiers. For if, instead of the necessities which they ought to be carrying, they bring wicker screens to use as a covering in the spring and in the heat, this would be a superfluous load, and they would find themselves short of provisions when the need arises.

**[18.]**

Guides and scouts.

Since it is not good to neglect any one of the factors which contribute to the common benefit of the army, it is necessary to have experienced and intelligent guides. We should treat them well, look out for them, and take good care of them, for without them nothing worthwhile will be accomplished. The men we call guides are not simply men who know the roads, for the lowliest peasant can do that, but men who, in addition to knowing the roads, are able to conduct the army through the mountain passes, who can plan ahead, and who know the proper distances for the campsites, locations which are suitable and which have plenty of water, so the camp will not find itself in dire straits. They should know the topography of the

- γνώσιν καὶ τῆς θέσεως τῆς πολεμίας χώρας, ἵνα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν  
 S f. 269 15 αὐτῇ εἰσάγοντες ληΐσθαι τὴν χώραν καὶ | ἐξανδραποδίσθαι.  
 T 29 Ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ χω|σάριοι πλείστοι καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι παρὰ τῷ τῆς  
 ἀνατολῆς λαῷ καλούμενοι τραπεζίται, καὶ συνεχῶς ἄλλοι ἀλλαχόθι  
 τῆς χώρας εἰσίστῳσαν πρὸς τὸ αἰχμαλωτίζειν ἀνθρώπους, ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν  
 ἀκριβῶς αἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναδιδάσκωνται βουλαί, εἴτε ἐπισυνάγον-  
 20 ται ἢ συμμάχους δέχονται, καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἵνα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 B f. 227 μελετω | μένων λανθάνη μηδέν.  
 Οἱ δὲ ἀληθεῖς τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ αὐτοὶ χρησιμώτατοι· εἰ-  
 σιόντες γὰρ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, δύνανται τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀκριβῶς μαν-  
 θάνειν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστέλλουσι δῆλα ποιεῖν. οὐ μόνον δὲ εἰς τοὺς Βουλ-  
 25 γάρους ἔξεστι τῷ δομestikῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀκρίταις στρατηγοῖς κατα-  
 σκόπους ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ γειτονοῦντα ἔθνη, εἴτουν εἰς  
 Πατζινακίαν καὶ εἰς Τουρκίαν καὶ Ῥωσίαν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν ἐκείνων  
 βουλευμάτων ἄγνωστον ἦμῖν ᾗ. οἱ δὲ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἀλίσκό-  
 30 πίστεις γὰρ λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν  
 σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς κατασκοπὴν ἀποστέλλονται,  
 καὶ μετὰ τὸ κατανοῆσαι ὡς ἔχει τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἅπαντα ἀπο-  
 στρέφοντες τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπαγγέλλουσι.

18: 8 τῶν<sup>2</sup> Graux: om. SB || 9 καὶ Graux: om. SB || 10 κυβερνήσαι Graux: κυβερνήσαι καὶ  
 SB || 27 μηδέν Graux: μηδὲ SB || 28–31 καὶ . . . γυναιξὶ S: om. B

(ιθ'.)

Περὶ διελεύσεως κλεισούρας μὴ κατεχομένης  
 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

- Τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἰσελεύσεσθαι μέλλοντος  
 5 πρὸ ἡμερῶν τινων στελλέσθωσαν οἱ δουκάτωρες καὶ κατάσκοποι καὶ  
 χωσάριοι πρὸς τὸ πάσας καλῶς ἀνερευνήσασθαι τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ γινῶναι  
 T 30 εἰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων | κατέχονται. καὶ εἰ μὲν εὔρεθεῖεν μὴ κατε-  
 χόμεναι, καὶ οὕτως συμφέρον ἐστὶν μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς  
 δυσχωρίας· συμβαίνει γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπάρξασθαι τῆς εἰς τοὺς στε-  
 10 νωποὺς τόπους διαβάσεως ἐπελθεῖν πολεμίους. εἰ δὲ τις ἀνάγκη  
 ἐστὶν κατεπείγουσα διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὁδῶν διελθεῖν, πεμπέσθω πρὸ  
 μιᾶς ἢ καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν πεζικὴ δύναμις σὺν ἀνδρείῳ καὶ συνετῷ ἄρ-  
 χοντι πλείονας τοὺς τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔχουσα. εἰ  
 δὲ καὶ ἵππεῖς δυνατὸν ἐστὶν ἐκείσε ἐνεργῆσαι καὶ τοῖς πεζοῖς συνει-

enemy's country in detail, so they can lead the army into it to plunder and take captives.

There should also be a large number of good hussars, the men whom the easterners call *trapezitai*.<sup>1</sup> They should constantly be going into the country, some here, some there, to capture men for the purpose of obtaining accurate information about the plans of the enemy, whether they are mobilizing or being joined by allies, and, to put it briefly, to make sure that nothing which they might be thinking of will escape us.

Actual spies, however, are the most useful. They go into the enemy's country and can find out exactly what is going on there and report it all back to those who sent them. The domestic and the generals along the border should be sure to have spies not only among the Bulgarians but also among all the other neighboring peoples, for example, in Patzinakia, in Turkey, in Russia, so that none of their plans will not be known to us.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes prisoners captured together with their wives and children may prove more helpful than the spies. The general can give assurances of freedom for them, their wives, and children and then send them out to spy. After they have investigated how everything is going among their own people, they can return and report the facts.

<sup>1</sup>Fast-riding warriors organized in small units, employed in scouting and raiding. See *Skirmishing*, Chap. 2, note 3.

<sup>2</sup>Patzinakia, the land of the Patzinaks (Pechenegs) extended along the plains north of the Black Sea from Bulgaria to the Rus principality of Kiev. See *De administrando imperio*, index; *DAI Commentary*, 12–13; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1, 87–90. Turkey at this time designated the territories occupied by the Hungarians, corresponding roughly to modern Hungary and Transylvania; see *De administrando imperio*, index; *Byzantinoturcica*, 1, 131–45. Russia, land of the Rus (Rhos) comprised basically the principality of Kiev along the southern reaches of the Dnieper in what is now the Ukraine.

## [19.]

Marching through a mountain pass that is  
not occupied by the enemy.

Several days before the expeditionary force is about to move into enemy territory, the guides, spies, and hussars should be sent to examine all the roads carefully and to find out if they are held by the enemy. Now, if they learn that they are not held by them, then it is expedient not to send the army into difficult terrain, for it can happen that after the army has begun its passage through such narrow places the enemy will attack. But if there is some pressing urgency to take such roads, then, one or two days ahead, send out an infantry force under a brave and intelligent officer and comprising more archers and javelin throwers than regular soldiers. If it is possible for cavalry to get into action there and accompany the foot soldiers, this

- S f. 269<sup>v</sup> 15 ναι, εἰς | μεγάλην τούτων ἔσονται προθυμίαν. σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ δου-  
κάρωρες ἔστωσαν ἐμπειρότατοι, καὶ ταξιαρχίαι τῶν δυτικῶν τῶν ἐπι-  
σταμένων μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβῶς τὸν τοιοῦτον τρόπον. ὁ δὲ ἄρχων  
τὸν πάντων ὑψηλότερον σπενυσάτω κατασχεῖν τρόπον ἢ καὶ φρούριον  
ἔτοιμον εἰ τύχοι ἐνεῖναι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ, κἀκεῖθεν μὴ μόνον τὴν  
20 ὁδόν, ἣν διαβαίνειν μέλλει τὸ στράτευμα, ἀσφαλῶς κρατησάτω,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπάσας τὰς δυναμένας δηλονότι πρὸς αὐτὴν  
εἰσαγαγεῖν λαὸν πολέμιον σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ πολλῇ φυλαττέτω, ἵνα μηδα-  
μόθεν ἰσχύσωσιν ἐπελθεῖν ἐχθροὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ οὕσῃ  
καὶ βλάβην εἰς αὐτὴν κατεργάσωνται.
- 25 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀσφαλῆ κατάσχεσιν τῆς ὁδοῦ δηλούτω ὁ ἄρχων τῷ  
B f. 227<sup>v</sup> ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ, καὶ τότε τῆς ὁδοιπορίας | ἀπτέσθω. ἀφοριζέτω δὲ  
ταξιαρχίας δύο καὶ προπορευέσθωσαν τῶν ἱππέων ἀξίνας βαστά-  
ζουσαι καὶ πελέκεις πρὸς τὸ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀποκαθαίρειν ὅπου δεῖ. πρό-  
σταξιν δὲ βασιλικὴν ὁ τῶν προπορευομένων δύο ταξιαρχῶν ἡγεμῶν  
30 ἐχέτω, ἵνα ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ὁπόσους στενωτάτους καὶ δυσβάτους  
εὗροι τόπους πεζοὺς καταλιμπάνῃ κατέχειν τε καὶ φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς  
ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ ὅλου στρατοῦ διαβάσεως. ἐπέσθωσαν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς  
T f. 31 πεζοῖς | αἱ τυπωθεῖσαι προπορεύεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀγίου  
ἱππικαὶ τάξεις, καὶ μετ' αὐτὰς οἱ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦντες  
35 πεζοὶ οἱ τε Ῥῶς καὶ μαλάρτιοι καὶ τοξόται, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ βασι-  
λεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπόμεναι ἱππικαὶ  
τάξεις, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς καθεξῆς ἡ λοιπὴ στρατιὰ διερχέσθω, καθὼς  
ἕκαστα προεξεθέμεθα. αἱ δὲ δύο ταξιαρχίαι αἱ παντὸς προπορευό-  
μεναι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄχρι τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τὴν αὐτὴν φυλαττέτωσαν τῆς  
40 ὁδοιπορίας τάξιν, ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ λοιπαί. ὀπισθεν δὲ πάντων καὶ  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ σάκα δύο ταξιαρχίαι πεζῶν ἐπακολουθεῖτωσαν. ὁ δὲ προ-  
κατασχὼν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἄρχων, εἰ μὴ σύμπαν διέλθῃ τὸ στράτευμα, μὴ  
καταλιπέτω ταύτας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀπάντων διέλευσιν, τότε καὶ  
αὐτὸς ὕστατος σὺν τῷ ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαῷ διαβήτω.

19: 7 εἰ B: εἰς S || 10 πολεμίους S: πολεμίῳ B || 19 τύχοι ἐνεῖναι Graux: τύχοιεν εἶναι SB ||  
23 ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ S: om. B || 25 ἀσφαλῆ Vári: ἐπιφαλῆ S: ἐπιφαλῇ B || 28 ἀποκαθαίρειν S:  
ἀνακαθαίρειν B || 29 ταξιαρχῶν B: ταξιαρχῶν S || 36 οἱ S: om. B || 37 αὐτοὺς S: αὐτοὺς καὶ B

⟨κ'⟩.

Περὶ κλεισούρας κατεχομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίῳν.]

will greatly boost their morale. Have some very experienced guides also go along with them, and taxiarchies from the west who know that sort of terrain more accurately than the others. The commander should make an effort to seize the highest point in the area, or even a fort, if there happens to be one already built in that place. From it let him not only securely hold the road along which the enemy plans to proceed, but also guard with great care all the other roads which could lead enemy troops to this one. In no way, then, will the enemy be able to attack the army while it is in difficult country and inflict harm upon it.

After securely occupying the road the commander should report to our holy emperor. Let the march then get under way. Let two taxiarchies be detailed to march on ahead of the horsemen, carrying axes and other cutting tools to clear the road wherever necessary. An imperial command should be given to the leader of these two advance taxiarchies that every time further along the road he might discover that it narrows or becomes difficult to traverse, he should leave some foot soldiers behind to occupy and guard it until the whole army has passed through. Following behind these infantrymen should be the cavalry units which regularly precede our holy emperor. After them come the infantry who accompany the emperor, that is, the Rhos, the *malartioi*, and the archers. Following them is our holy emperor with his entourage, and the cavalry units ride behind him. Then the rest of the army should pass by in order, as we have already explained in detail. But the two taxiarchies which had moved out ahead of the whole army should maintain the same order of march until they reach camp, as should the others. Behind everyone, even the *saka* itself, should come two taxiarchies of infantry. The commander who had been holding the roads in advance should not leave them until the entire army has passed by. Only after everyone has gone through should he, last of all, with the troops under his command, go through.

[20.]

A mountain pass occupied by the enemy.

If the narrow places through which our army had been intending to march should be seized by the enemy ahead of time, and they are well equipped and in

- 5 διελθεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς παρὰ τε τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν  
 ἀνωτέρω λεχθέντων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος πεπληροφόρηται, χρῆ  
 μὴ πλησιάσαι τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ μήτε μὴν εἰς ἑτέραν κατεχομένην  
 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύσβατον ὁδὸν παραβουλότερον καὶ ἐπικινδύνως  
 ἐμβαλεῖν τὸ στράτευμα. τοῦτο δὲ φάμεν οὐχὶ τῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δέει,  
 10 ἀλλὰ παραινούντες τὴν μαχομένην καὶ κινδυνώδη τῶν τόπων φεύγειν  
 τραχύτητα. εἰς γὰρ τῶν ἀσθενῶν πολλάκις τῇ ὀχυρότητι τοῦ χώρου  
 βοηθούμενος πλείστους τῶν ἀν|δρείων καταγωνίζεται. ὅπου γὰρ οὐ  
 δυνατόν τῇ χειρὶ ἢ τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι χρῆσασθαι, δυνατόν  
 τούτου τῷ πολεμίῳ τυγχάνοντος, προφανῆς ὁ κίνδυνος. κρεῖττον οὖν  
 B f. 228 15 ἐστὶ καὶ συμφέρον εἰς ἑτέραν ἀπελθεῖν ἐλευθέραν, εἰ τάχα | τριῶν ἢ  
 καὶ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἀπέχει τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης διάστημα, καὶ δι'  
 αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ κατέχεται, διελθεῖν ἀποστείλαντα πρότερον καὶ διὰ  
 πεζῶν ταύτην κατασχόντα τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ παρεθέμεθα πρὸς τὸ διελθεῖν  
 ἀκινδύνως. εἰ δὲ τυχὸν καὶ αὕτη κατεσχέθη παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ  
 20 δουκάτωρες ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἑτέρων ὁδῶν τῶν ἐνθεν κάκειθεν τῆς  
 κρατουμένης οὐσῶν δύνανται διαβιβάσαι λαὸν πεζικὸν ἱκανὸν καὶ  
 κατὰ νῶτων εἴτε ἐκ πλαγίων τῶν πολεμίων ποιῆσαι. καὶ εἰ μὲν περι-  
 γένωνται τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τούτους πολέμῳ διώξωσιν ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐκ  
 S f. 270<sup>v</sup> τῶν πλαγίων κατ' αὐτῶν δειλιάσαντες ἔφοδον μόνοι ὑ|ποχωρήσωσιν,  
 25 ἀφόβως τὸ στράτευμα διελεύσεται.

Εἰ δὲ λόφον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ ὄντος ἢ πέτρας ὑψηλῆς καὶ ταύ-  
 της δίκην φρουρίου οὔσης ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντες οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῇ ἐκείνης  
 ἀσφαλιζόμενοι ὀχυρότητι καρτεροῦσι φυλάττοντες τὴν ὁδόν, εἰ μὲν  
 οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐστὶν ἐκ δύο ἢ καὶ ἀφ' ἑνὸς τούτοις προσβαλεῖν πόλεμον,  
 30 διὰ τῆς δημοσίας καὶ μεσαιτάτης ὁδοῦ ἐλαφροὶ τινες καὶ ῥωμαλέοι  
 πεζοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπελθέτωσαν, καὶ εἰ δυνηθῶσι τούτους ἐρεθίσαι πρὸς  
 μάχην καὶ τοῦ ὀχυροῦ ὑπεξαγάγωσι τόπου ἐσχηματισμένην ὑποκρι-  
 θήτωσαν φυγὴν, ἢν' οἱ ἐκ πλαγίου (ἢ) ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐπιδραμόντες  
 καταπολεμήσωσι καὶ ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν κατεργάσωνται. εἰ δὲ πάντῃ  
 35 ἀδύνατον ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀβάτου τέλεον  
 ὄντος τοῦ τόπου, ὥσπερ πολλοὺς ἐθεασάμεθα τοιαύτην ἔχοντας θέσιν,  
 διὰ μιᾶς τῆς κρεῖττονος τῶν πλαγίων ὁδῶν ἀκωλύτως τὸ στράτευμα  
 διελεύσεται μηδεμίαν βλάβης ὑποψίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων | ἔχον.  
 ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχωρίας τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις  
 40 συμβαλεῖν, οὕτω κάκεῖνοι ἄβατον καὶ ἀδύνατον τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἡμε-  
 τέρους διάβασιν ἔξοιεν. παρέστηκε δὲ ἡμῖν ἡ πείρα διδάξασα καὶ δι'  
 ὁρέων καὶ ὁδῶν μὴ συνήθων ἀλλ' ἀγνώστων μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ τὸ  
 ἀτριβές, τοῖς δὲ ἐμπείροις δουκάτωρσι γινωσκομένων καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖων  
 οὐσῶν πρὸς διέλευσιν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀπονουήτων εὐκολώτερον καὶ  
 45 ἀβλαβέστερον διήλθομεν ἡμεῖς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ μυρίοι ἕτεροι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν οἱ δουκάτωρες εἶεν ἀξιόπιστοι καὶ πεπειραμένοι  
 τοῦ καὶ ἕτερα μεγάλα | φοσσάτα δουκατωρεῦσαι καὶ τοιούτων ὁδῶν

strength, and our holy emperor is fully informed of this by the spies and others mentioned above, then we must not get close to that place and certainly not send the army recklessly and at great risk through another difficult road which is occupied by the enemy. We do not say this out of fear of the enemy, but as a warning to avoid rugged terrain which involves struggling and danger. Often enough one weak person who has the advantage of a strong position can successfully fight against many brave men. For wherever you are unable to use your hands, your horse, and your weapons, while the enemy is able to do so, then the danger is obvious. It is better, therefore, and more useful to go off to another, unobstructed pass, even if that road happens to be three or four days distant, and to proceed through that, as long as it is not occupied. A detachment of infantry should first be dispatched to seize it in the manner we have prescribed for the passage to be without danger. But if it should happen that it too is seized by the enemy, the guides can then lead a good-sized force of infantry from the other side roads off to both sides of the one held by the enemy to attack their rear or their flanks. If they overcome the enemy and vigorously pursue them, or if the enemy are frightened by the attack on them from the sides and withdraw on their own initiative, the army will pass over without fear.

If there is a hill in that place or a high outcropping of rock similar to a fortress and the enemy occupy it, protecting themselves with its strength, and stay there guarding the road, and if they cannot be attacked from two or even from one side, have some sturdy light infantry advance against them along the public road right in the middle. If they can do so, they should provoke them into fighting and draw them out of their strong position. Let them make believe they are taking to flight, so our men may charge out from the sides or from the rear to overwhelm them and effect their destruction. But if it is not at all possible to attack the enemy from the sides, the place being completely inaccessible, as are many sites we have observed, then the army will proceed unhindered along one of the better side roads without any fear at all of being harmed by the enemy. For just as the rough terrain can make it difficult even for the natives to attack foreigners, so the enemy will believe that there is absolutely no way for them to reach our men. Experience has taught us about passing through the mountains and going along unfamiliar roads. Those roads, after all, are also unknown to the enemy because they have not used them. But they are known by experienced guides, and they are suitable for passage. Along those unsuspected roads, then, we, and thousands of others, have traveled without difficulty or injury.

If, therefore, the guides are trustworthy and experienced in guiding other large armies and they really know these roads, have an infantry force occupy them



ἔχωσιν εἵδησιν, προκατασχεθήτωσαν αὐταὶ διὰ πεζικοῦ πλήθους  
κατὰ τὸν δηλωθέντα τρόπον, καὶ διαβήτω ἐκεῖσε τὸ στράτευμα ἀφό-  
50 βως. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ταύτην ἢ ἑτέραν, ἣν ἂν διέλθῃ ὁ ἡμέτερος λαός,  
φυλάττεσθαι μετὰ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως κρατούσης εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἐαν-  
τῆς, ὥς εἶεν συγκείμενα φρούρια ἢ τὸν ὑψηλότατον καὶ ὀχυρώτατον  
τόπον. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' αὐτῆς ἢ ὑποστρέψαι μέλλει ἢ χρεῖας εἰσφέρε-  
σθαι πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ ἀφρόντιστον ἔξει· εἰ δὲ δι' ἑτέρας,  
55 μνηυθήτω τοῦτο τῷ τῶν πεζῶν ἄρχοντι ἀκείνην εὑρεθήσεται φυλάτ-  
των ὁδὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀγίου ἐξέλευσιν, ἣν περ ἂν  
προσταγῇ.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ πεζικὸν μάχιμον κατελείφθῃ πρὸς τὸ τὴν κλεισοῦραν  
φυλάττειν, ἀλλ' ἄφετος συνεχωρήθῃ, δεῖ τὴν ὁμοίαν, καθὼς ἐρρήθῃ,  
60 τηρεῖν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῆς πολεμίας ἐξιέναι καὶ ὑποστρέ-  
S f. 271 φειν μέλλοντι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πολ|λῷ πλείονα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ δῆλην  
εἶναι τὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν εἵσοδον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐν  
ὁποῖῳ μέλλει τῆς χώρας εἰσβαλεῖν μέρος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φυγα-  
δεῦσαι ἕκαστον πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ ἐπείγεσθαι, εἰκὸς ἐστίν  
65 ἀφυλάκτους τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ καταλιπεῖν τὰς ὁδοὺς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν δὲ  
T 34 ἀπο|χωρήσῃ τῆς πολεμίας ὁ στρατὸς βούληται, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐκ  
ὀλίγη τότε φροντίς τοῦ προκατασχεῖν τὰς ὁδοὺς, καὶ τὰ οἰκεία καὶ ἄλ-  
λότρια ἐν βραχεῖ συνηγμένα κομίσασθαι. συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ κατενο-  
δωθέντι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πληθύν ἀνδραπόδων καὶ κτηνῶν ἐπιφέρει-  
70 σθαι, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἕκαστον ἀσχολεῖσθαι. χρεῖα οὖν τότε πλείονος  
φυλακῆς καὶ μείζονος.

Ὅτ' ἂν οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν ὑποστρέφουσιν διὰ τῆς κλεισοῦρας  
διαβιβάσαι μέλλωμεν, ἀναπαῦσαι χρὴ ταύτην καὶ μὴ τεταλαιπωρη-  
μένην ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πεζικὴν ἐξάγειν πρὸς  
75 μάχην. εἰ ἄρα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἡ ὁδὸς κατεσχέθῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπι-  
τηδεῖ τὸπῳ πλησίον τῆς κλεισοῦρας ὄντι ἀπληκεύσαντα ἀναπαῦσαι  
τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, καὶ παραινέσαντα τούτους  
καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐπαλείψαντα οὕτως τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν πρωΐθεν τῆς δια-  
βιβάσεως ἀπάρξασθαι, καθὼς ἀκριβῶς προεκδέδοται. καὶ περὶ μὲν  
80 τοῦ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀβλαβῶς διελθεῖν τὸ στράτευμα τὰς κλεισοῦρας ὥς  
οἶόν τε ἦν ἐξεθέμεθα. τὸ κρεῖττον δὲ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ λυσιτελέστερον  
δι' ὁμαλῆς καὶ | εὐρυχώρου ὁδοῦ εἰσάγειν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἐξάγειν  
τὸ στράτευμα καὶ μηδέποτε διὰ στενῶν καὶ δυσβάτων ὁδῶν τὴν  
βαρεῖαν δύναμιν τό τε πλήθος τοῦ ὑπουργικοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀχθοφόρων  
85 διαβιβάζειν.

Εἰ δὲ ἡ ὁδός, ἐν ᾗ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν μέλλει ποιεῖσθαι τὸ στρά-  
τευμα, στενὴ τις ἐστὶν καὶ δύσβατος καὶ πλησιάζουσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐν  
τοῖς τοιούτοις στενώμασιν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τριῶν ὁδῶν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ στε-  
νώματος ἐξοδος, δεῖ, εἰ ὅλως οὐκ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μακρύνουσιν αἱ ὁδοί,  
90 στήναι τοὺς τρεῖς χιλιάρχους τοὺς οὐραίους ὀπισθεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς

in advance in the manner already explained. The army can then pass through there without fear. This road or some other along which our people might march must be held and guarded by a force of infantry to keep it secure in case there might be a fortress or a very strong place on the heights. Then, too, if we intend to return by that road or use it to bring up supplies to the army, we shall not have to worry. But if another road will be taken, let the commander of the infantry force be so informed, and he will go and guard that road, whichever one he is ordered to, when our holy emperor marches out.

But if a combat force of infantry should not be posted behind to guard the mountain pass, and it should be left open, it is still necessary to observe the same concern and security measures as when one is planning to leave the enemy country and return, as was noted, in fact, all the more so. For it is not obvious to the enemy which road we shall take on entering their country or what region we plan on invading. Each person, moreover, is under pressure to seek refuge with all his belongings. In such a situation it is reasonable to leave the roads unguarded. But when the army wants to depart from hostile territory, the enemy will then show no little concern to occupy the roads in advance and to bring all their own resources, as well as others, together in a short time. It also happens that an expeditionary force making its way along the road may be conveying large numbers of prisoners and herds, with each soldier devoting his attention to these. At that time, therefore, we need more and better guards.

Now, then, when we intend to have the returning army proceed through the pass we must have it rest and not send it, especially the infantry, into combat while it is exhausted from marching. If the road is occupied by the enemy, then make camp in a suitable location near the pass. Have the army rest for the remainder of the day or the next day too. Exhort the men, rouse them to bravery, and then have them begin their passage the next morning, as was explained above in detail. This is the best we can do in prescribing how the army should proceed safely and without harm through the pass. The best of all and the most advantageous is to lead the army into the enemy country and to leave it along a level and broad road. Never have a large force with a multitude of workmen and pack animals travel along a narrow and difficult road.

But if the road on which we intend having the army march out is constricted and difficult, and if the enemy are close by in such narrow spots, then if there are three roads leading out of the narrow place and they are not really too distant from one another, station the three rear chiliarchs behind. Have one chiliarch with his

- S f. 271<sup>v</sup>  
 T 35  
 χιλίαρχος μετὰ τοῦ πεζικοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατεῖτω τὴν μίαν στενωπὸν τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ, | ὁ δὲ | ἕτερος τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ὁ ἄλλος τὴν ἑτέραν. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ  
 ἐν τῷ μετωπαίῳ στηκέτωσαν ἕτεροι τρεῖς, καὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν πλα-  
 γίων στηκέτωσαν οἱ ἐξ χιλίαρχοι φυλάττοντες τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἀνωτέρω  
 95 ῥηθείσης τετραγώνου παρατάξεως, καὶ διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀμφοτέρων  
 ὁδῶν χωρηθήτω τὸ καβαλλαρικὸν καὶ περιπατεῖτω εὐτάκτως τῶν  
 δηλωθεισῶν πεζικῶν παρατάξεων φυλαττουσῶν τὴν τοῦ στενοῦ διέ-  
 ξοδον μέχρι τῆς τοῦ καβαλλαρικοῦ διελεύσεως. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν  
 τοῦ στενοῦ φόβος ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτεύεται, δεῖ τοὺς μετωπαίους πεζοὺς  
 100 ἡγουν τοὺς τρεῖς χιλιάρχους προηγείσθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ καβαλλαρι-  
 κοῦ μέχρι τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ στενοῦ, καὶ τοῦ στενοῦ πληρουμέ-  
 νου δεῖ στήναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς πεζοὺς μέχρις οὗ διέλθῃ τὸ καβαλλαρικὸν  
 ὅλον, καὶ τοῦ καβαλλαρικοῦ διερχομένου καὶ ὀπισθεν πεζικῶν παρα-  
 τάξεων πλησιαζουσῶν τότε δεῖ εὐτάκτως ἀποκινεῖν.  
 105 Εἰ δὲ δύο διέξοδοί εἰσι τοῦ στενοῦ, εἴτε καὶ μία, ὁμοίως ἢ αὐτὴ  
 τάξις φυλαττέσθω. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦτο ἐπιτηδευθῇ καὶ  
 κρατηθῶσι τὰ στενὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὀπι-  
 σθεν, ἑτέρας διεξόδου μὴ οὔσης χρή σκοπῆσαι ἐπιτηδείους τόπους  
 ὕδωρ ἔχοντας καὶ ἐκεῖσε προσαναπαῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τότε, εἰ  
 110 μὲν οἱ ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐχθροὶ πλησιάσωσιν, δεῖ πρῶτον τὰς τοῦ  
 καβαλλαρικοῦ στρατοῦ παρατάξεις ἐτοιμάσαι καὶ ὀρμῆσαι κατὰ  
 τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐπακολουθούντων ἐχθρῶν. καὶ εἰ μὲν Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ  
 τραπῶσι, δεῖ αὐτοὺς καταδιώκειν κατὰ τὰς ἀνωτέρω ῥυθμισθείσας  
 διώξεις τῶν ἐχθρῶν μέχρις οὗ τελείως παραλυθῶσι καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι |  
 B f. 229<sup>v</sup> 115 τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄλλο συσταθῆναι καὶ ὑποστρέψαι.  
 T 36  
 Εἰ δὲ εἰς πλῆθος ὄντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ θαρσαλέως ἐνίστανται πόλεμον  
 ἐπιζητοῦντες, χρή τότε καὶ τὰς πεζικὰς παρα|τάξεις τὸ ὅλον στρά-  
 τευμα ἐπακολουθεῖν, τοῖς (δὲ) καβαλλαρίοις καὶ δημοσίως τὸν πρὸς  
 αὐτοὺς πόλεμον συνάπτειν, μέχρις οὗ Θεοῦ συνεργούντος ἡμῖν ἢ  
 120 τροπὴ αὐτῶν γένηται, καὶ τούτων τρεπομένων καὶ μετὰ νικητηρίων  
 καὶ χαρμοσύνης τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑποστρέφοντος πάντως καὶ οἱ τὰ στενὰ  
 τῶν ὁδῶν κρατοῦντες ἐχθροὶ δειλίᾳ πολλῇ κατασχεθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 S f. 273 φυγῇ χρῆσονται. εἰ δὲ | τὴν δειλίαν παρωσάμενοι αὐθαδῶς καὶ θρα-  
 σέως ἴστανται τὴν διέλευσιν τῶν στενῶν κρατοῦντες, χρή σκοπηθῆναι  
 125 αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τοῦ στρατοῦ, οἷοι καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ αὐτοὶ  
 καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ τάξει ἴστανται, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ποιότητα καὶ ποσότητα  
 αὐτῶν δεῖ διὰ τριῶν κατ' αὐτῶν πεζικὰς παρατάξεις εὐτρεπίσαι καὶ  
 ἀποστεῖλαι. καί, εἰ μὲν εἰς λίθους καὶ πέτρας κρημνῶδεις ἴστανται  
 φυλάττοντες κάτωθεν τὰς ὁδοὺς, δεῖ ἀποστεῖλαι ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ ψι-  
 130 λούς, τοξότας καὶ σφενδονιστὰς, εἰ δυνατὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν μεναυλάτων  
 τινὰς πρὸς τὸ ἀπογυρεῦσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς κρημνῶδεις τόπους, καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν ὁμαλῶν καὶ πεδινωτέρων τόπων ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐλθεῖν. καὶ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν ἐνισταμένων οὐ χρή τὸν πόλεμον ἐπισπεύδειν καὶ ἀσκόπως

infantry contingent hold one of the narrowings in the road and the other two, the two other sections. In this manner let another three take a position along the front, and on both sides station the six chiliarchs, thus maintaining the square formation of troops spoken of above. Send a cavalry force to the area between both roads and have it ride along in good order while the infantry detachments already mentioned guard the narrow passageway until the cavalry force has gone through. If there is reason to fear that the enemy are in front of the narrow passage, then the infantry along the front, that is, the three chiliarchs, should go on ahead of the cavalry until they get through the narrow pass. After they get through, then the same infantry units must stay until all of the cavalry makes it through. When the cavalry has passed through and the infantry contingents in the rear come close, then they should move off in good order.

If there are two exits from the defile, or just one, the same disposition should likewise be observed. But if the enemy should have anticipated this, and the narrow places should be occupied by the enemy following along behind, and there is no other way out, then you must look for a suitable location, one with water, and there have the army rest a while. Then, if the enemy who are following come close, first get the cavalry contingents ready and have them charge against the enemy following behind. If, with God's assistance, they turn to flight, they must be pursued in the manner prescribed above for pursuing the enemy until their ranks are completely broken up and the survivors are unable to bring themselves together and turn back.

But if the enemy are numerous and they boldly take a stand, eager for battle, then the infantry contingents must follow the whole army, while the cavalry should close with them in a pitched battle. With God working on our side, they will be put to flight. As they flee, and our army returns with shouts of victory and rejoicing, the enemy troops occupying the narrow passageways will surely be seized by great fear and will themselves turn to flight. But if they cast off their fear and resolutely and boldly take their stand holding the passage through the narrow spot, then they must be investigated by the commander of the army. How many are they, of what quality, how are they organized? Depending on their quality and their numbers, then, infantry contingents must be gotten ready and sent out against them, three at a time. Now, if they are standing among stones and precipitous rocks guarding the roads below them, then javelin throwers and light troops, archers and slingers must be dispatched. If possible, too, some spearmen should come directly from the flat and more level places to circle around those precipitous places. With the enemy in good position we should not be anxious for battle and attack to no purpose, for the very

- συμβάλλειν τοῦ τόπου βοηθοῦντος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐκ διαφόρων  
 135 τόπων τὴν ἐπέλευσιν ποιήσασθαι κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ περισπάσαι αὐτοὺς  
 μετὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς καὶ σφενδονιστάς. καὶ  
 ἐὰν οὕτως ἐπιμένωσι βοηθούμενοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου ὀχυρότητος, χρῆ  
 μίαν τότε παράταξιν ὀπλιτῶν εἶτε καὶ δύο ἀποστεῖλαι διὰ τῶν πεδι-  
 νωτέρων τόπων ἐπελθεῖν κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος ἢ τροπῇ  
 140 αὐτῶν γενήσεται, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἀκωλύτως διέλθῃ τὸ λοιπὸν στρά-  
 τευμα ὅλον τοὺς στενοὺς καὶ δυσβάτους τόπους ἐκείνους. |

20: 3 τόποι S: τόπων B || 4 τὸ Vári: om. SB || 7 ἐκείνῳ S: om. B || κατεχομένην Vári: κατεχο-  
 μένων SB || 21 διαβιβάσαι Vári e codd. recc.: διαβάσαι SB || 26 ὄντος S: ἐντὸς B || 31 τούτους Vári:  
 τούτοις SB || 33 ἢ Graux: om. SB || 42 ὀρέων B: ὀρνέων S || 47 τοῦ Vári: ἐκ τοῦ SB || 52 ὡς B: εἰ S || 53  
 ὑποστρέψαι B: ὑποστρέψῃ S || 89 ὅλως Vári: ὅλως καὶ SB || 96 χωρηθῆτω Graux: χωρεθῆτω SB ||  
 96-97 -τείτω . . . φυλάτ- S: om. B || 100 τοῦ καβαλλαρικοῦ S: iterantur in B || 117 ἐπιζητούντες S:  
 ζητούντες B || 118 δὲ Vári: om. SB || 123 παρωσάμενοι B: παρασσάμενοι S || 124 χρῆ B: χρῆ  
 σκοπῇ S

(κα'.)

T 37

### Περὶ πολιορκίας.

- Οἱ δὲ πόλεις τειχήρεις ἐλεῖν πολέμῳ βουλόμενοι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν  
 τὸ πολέμιον ἅπαν συνταπεινῶσαι, πυκναῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς κατὰ τῆς  
 5 αὐτῶν χρώνται χώρας διὰ τε κουρσῶρων καὶ τραπεζιτῶν, τῶν παρὰ  
 τοῖς δυτικοῖς χωσαρίων καλουμένων, καὶ ἐτέρων ἵππικῶν καὶ πεζικῶν  
 B f. 230 δυνάμεων, ἵνα τοῖς | συχνοῖς τραύμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλεπαλλήλοις ἐξαν-  
 δραποδισμοῖς αὐτῶν τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ  
 μὴ ἐᾶσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐργάζεσθαι χώραν ὡς βούλονται, ἀλλὰ παν-  
 10 τοίως πιέζεσθαι, εὐχείρωτοι γίνωνται. εἰ γὰρ μὴ πρότερον αἱ τε  
 ἄμπελοι καὶ τὰ καρποφόρα τούτων ἐκτέμνονται δένδρα καὶ τὰ θέρη  
 κατακαίονται καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἀφαιροῦνται, ὅπως ἢ τοῦ λιμοῦ βία τού-  
 τους μετανάστας καὶ φυγάδας ποιήσῃ, ἐκπολιορκῆσαι πόλεις τῶν  
 S f. 273' ὀχυρῶν εὐθηνουμένας τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ τῇ | τῶν μαχομένων πληθύι  
 15 δυσχερέστατον. ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτως τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν διαθέμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ  
 προχείρου δορυκτῆτα τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ποιῆσαι βουλόμενος ὀχυρώ-  
 ματα, μάτην τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπέλευσιν ἐξαργύεται.

Δεῖ δὲ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔνδειαν οὕτω καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ στρα-  
 τεύματι τὸ ἀνελλιπὲς τῶν χρειῶν περιποιήσασθαι. εἴπερ οὖν τῇ τῶν  
 20 Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐμβαλεῖν μέλλει χώρα, ἐξελικμήθη δὲ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ταῖς  
 πυκναῖς ἐρημώσεσιν, ὥστε σπάνιν εἶναι τούτων ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, καὶ  
 τῷ στρατεύματι ἀμήχανον αὐτὸ πάλιν πλεῖον τῶν κδ' ἡμερῶν κριθῇν

location is aiding the enemy. But we should launch our attack against them from various spots and harass them with those archers, javelin throwers, and slingers. If they still hold fast, assisted as they are by the strength of the site, then send out through the more level ground one or two formations of regular soldiers to attack them. With God aiding us, they will turn to flight. Then all the rest of the army will be able to proceed through those narrow and difficult places without hindrance.

[21.]

Siege warfare.

Those who want to take walled cities by storm and thus bring the enemy completely to their knees should conduct frequent raids against their country, employing raiders and *trapezitai*, called hussars by the westerners, and other groups of horse and foot for this purpose. By this constant damage and by unceasingly making captives of the enemy themselves and their allies, and by not allowing them the freedom of working their own land, but putting pressure on them in every way, they become easy to overcome. Unless their vines and fruit-bearing trees are first chopped down, their crops burned, and their animals taken away, so hunger will compel them to become wandering fugitives, it is extremely difficult to have any success in besieging strong cities, well stocked with supplies and with a multitude of fighting men. The commander who does not take measures of this sort against them, but who wants an easy way to turn the enemy's strong places into spoils of war, will launch his attack against them in vain.

Just as one must see that the enemy are in want, so one must make sure that his own army has no lack of necessities. Suppose, for example, you plan on invading the land of the Agarenes,<sup>1</sup> which has been emptied of foodstuffs by frequent devastations, so that food is scarce in that hostile country. It is not feasible, in turn, for an army to transport more than a twenty-four days' supply of barley from its

τοῖς ἰδίους ἀλόγοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν χώρας βαστάσαι, αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἄς  
 T 38 25 τρο|φὰς ἔχουσι, λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν ὁ λιμὸς ἀναγκάσει, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἐπιχορηγοῦνται χρεῖαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ὁπότε  
 ἂν δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν χώρᾳ τῇ πολυφόρῳ καὶ τοσαύτῃ ἀφθονίαν  
 παρεχούσῃ γεωργίων, εἴπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἐπισιτίζεται γῆς  
 30 τὸ στράτευμα, ἀδύνατον ἐπὶ συχνῷ χρόνῳ καρτερῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἐπι-  
 νομένων τι κατορθῶσαι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρᾳ,  
 ὅπου ἔνδεια πάντῃ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῆς κριθῆς. εἰ  
 γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αἱ χρεῖαι οὐκ ἐπιχορηγοῦνται τῷ στρατεύ-  
 ματι, ἄπρακτοι οἴκαδε ἀποστρέψουσι, καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἂν μεγάλη  
 35 ἰσχὺς καὶ βαρεῖα δύναμις τῶν πολεμίων κατορθῶσαι, ἢ τῶν ἀνα-  
 γκαίων ἐργάσεται ἔνδεια καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν λῦσαι καταναγκάσει.

Ἐξέσπι τοίνυν τινὰ τῶν κλεισουργῶν παρὰ λαοῦ ἡμετέρου κατέ-  
 χεσθαι πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἡμιόνους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ κομίζοντα τὰς τῆς  
 B f. 230<sup>v</sup> στρατιᾶς χρεῖας, εἰ τύχῃ, καὶ ἀμάξας | ἀκωλύτως διέρχεσθαι, καὶ δι'  
 ἑτέρου αὐθις λαοῦ πεζικοῦ τε καὶ ἵππικοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπακολου-  
 40 θοῦντος αὐτοῖς, εἰ φόβον ἔχοιεν, φυλάττεσθαι, ἢν' ἔχουσα τὸ ἄρκοῦν  
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢ στρατιὰ τῇ ἐπιμονῇ καὶ καρτερίᾳ πέρας ἀξιόλογον  
 τοῖς βουλευθεῖσι Θεοῦ συνεργούντος ἐπιθῆται.

Ἐπ' ἂν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ὀρμῆσαι μέλλοι,  
 προαποστεῖλαι δέον λαὸν μετὰ στρατηγὸν ἀνδρείον ἐπιδραμεῖν πρὸ  
 S f. 274 45 τριῶν ἢ καὶ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν εἰ δυνατόν ἀγνοοῦσι | τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 καὶ αἰχμαλωτίσαι ἀνθρώπους καὶ ζῶα, ἵνα καὶ αἱ τῶν πολεμίων βου-  
 λαὶ γνωσθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαλωκότων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ δειλία αὐτοῖς  
 T 39 ἐπεισέλθῃ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑποψία | πολεμίων οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐκείσε προ-  
 σμεινάτω· φόβον δὲ τοιούτου ἐπηρητημένου ὑποστρέψας τῷ στρατο-  
 50 πέδῳ ὑπαντησάτω. ὁ (δὲ) βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος τῆς πολεμίας ἐπι-  
 βὰς ἐν τάξει ὁδοιπορεῖτω, καθὼς ἐξεθέμεθα. ἡνίκα δὲ τῇ πολιο-  
 ρκεῖσθαι μελλούσῃ πόλει πλησιάσει, ὥς ἀπὸ διαστήματος ἐξ μιλίων  
 ταύτης ἀπληκενέτω· καὶ μίαν ἵππικὴν τάξιν ὀλίγον λαὸν ἔχουσαν  
 προαποστειλάτω, ὅπισθεν δὲ τούτων ἐνέδρας ἐξ ἑτέρας ἵππικῆς τά-  
 55 ξεως στησάτω. εἰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν, εἰ τύχῃ, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παραδεί-  
 σους εἶναι καὶ ἀμπελῶνας καὶ δένδρη, ἐκτεμνέτωσαν καὶ ἐκριζού-  
 τωσαν καὶ πυρπολεῖτωσαν, ἢν' εἴ ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι διὰ τὰ οἰκεία  
 πράγματα δεινοπαθήσαντες ἐκδράμωσι τοῦ ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς τὰ  
 ἐκείνων δηοῦντας καὶ μάχην συνάψωσιν, οὗτοι τὴν ἐσκαιωρημένην  
 60 πλασάμενοι φυγὴν ἴσως ἐφελκύσονται τούτους, ἄχρις οὗ τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ  
 περιπαρῆναι παρασκευάσουσι, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ἐκτιθέμεθα τοῦ  
 ἀποπειράσασθαι ἔνεκεν καὶ καταμαθεῖν πρότερον τὸν τε λαὸν τὸν  
 ἐντὸς καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν· καὶ εἴπερ τούτους ὀλι-  
 γανδροῦντας ἐκ τῆς ἀκριβεστερας ταύτης καταμάθοι πείρας, χωρεῖν  
 65 πρὸς πολιορκίαν προθύμως.

own country for its horses. But the cities which they would like to besiege are very populous and have supplies for a long period. Hunger will force us to lift the siege unless necessities are conveyed from the land of the Romans to the army on campaign. In the land of the Agarenes, so productive and abounding in so many crops, unless we bring food from our own country, the army will not be able to last long enough to achieve anything worthwhile. How much worse will it be in the country of the Bulgarians, in which there is a total lack of necessities, especially of barley? It is clear that if the necessities are not conveyed from our land to the army that we shall return home having accomplished nothing. What the great strength and the mighty force of the enemy were unable to bring about, the lack of necessities will achieve and will force the army to lift the siege.

What can be done is to have some of our people occupy one of the mountain passes, so the mules and other animals and, if feasible, wagons, can get through and transport the necessities for the army without hindrance. Another detachment, moreover, of infantry and cavalry can follow them along the road to protect them if they should be fearful. The army, then, possessing a sufficient amount of necessities, by its persistence and perseverance, and with the cooperation of God, will bring a worthy conclusion to its plans.

Whenever the army might be about to proceed toward a siege, it must send out an advance party under a brave general three or even four days ahead of time to ride about swiftly, if possible without letting the enemy know, and capture men and beasts. The prisoners they take should aid them in learning the plans of the enemy, and will make them very nervous. If there is no evidence of the enemy, let them stay longer. But when they do have reason to fear their presence, let them turn around and head back to the army. Let our holy emperor then enter the enemy country, marching along in good order, as we have laid down. When he approaches the city which is to be besieged, let him make camp about six miles away from it. Let him send out ahead a cavalry unit, not too large, and behind it let him set up ambushes with another cavalry unit. If it should happen that out in front of the city there are parks, vineyards, and trees, they should be cut down, uprooted, and set on fire. Then if the enemy, terribly afflicted by what is happening to their possessions, should dash out to drive off those destroying their property and start fighting, our men cleverly feign a flight, trying to draw them along until they get them to go right into the ambush. We have prescribed that this should be done in order to make trial of the people inside and to learn in advance something about their morale and their strength. If this fairly accurate test makes it clear that they are low in manpower, we should go ahead with the siege in good spirits.



Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπόπειραν ἀναλαμβανόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἱππικῶν τάξεων τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ  
 εὐὺπλισμένους πρὸς κατασκοπὴν ἀπίτω τοῦ τε ἀπλήκτου καὶ τῆς  
 πόλεως, καὶ ταύτην κύκλῳ περιελθὼν καὶ διασκοπήσας καὶ νείμας  
 70 ἐκάστω ἐγγράφως τοὺς ἀφωρισμένους τόπους τοῦ τε ἀπλήκτου καὶ  
 τῆς τειχομαχίας ὑποστρεφέτω πρὸς ὃ ἦν ἀπλήκτον. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ  
 B f. 231 πρωίθεν ἐκτὰ | ξας ἐνόπλους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος τὰς τε ἱππικὰς  
 καὶ πεζικὰς τάξεις σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χωρεῖτω,  
 ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ μόνης τῆς θεάς καταπλαγέντες δειλιάσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.  
 75 τῶν δὲ πυλῶν πασῶν ἀπ' ἐναντίας τάξεις στησάτω τὰς αὐτάρκειες  
 T 40 πρὸς | φυλακὴν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαίφνης συγκεχυμένου τοῦ ὑπουργικοῦ, | ἅτε  
 S f. 274<sup>v</sup> φροντιζόντων ἐκάστων τὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπλήκτου, ἐκδραμόντες ἀπὸ  
 τῆς πόλεως οἱ πολέμιοι τούτους διαταράξωσι.

Καὶ διοριζέσθω ἕκαστον ἀπληκεύειν εἰς τὸν ἀποκεκληρωμένον  
 80 αὐτῷ τόπον, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ σκηνή, καθὰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ διείληπται,  
 τὸν ὀχυρώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἐχέτω τόπον. ὁ δὲ ἐντὸς χάραξ  
 ἀφιστάσθω τοῦ τείχους ὥσει τόξων δύο βολὴν ἢ καὶ πλεόν, ὅσον εἰς  
 αὐτὸν δηλαδὴ οὔτε τὰ ἀπὸ τόξου πεμπόμενα βέλη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πετροβόλων ἀκουτίσματα δυνατὸν ἐφικνεῖσθαι· πλὴν μὴ πέρα  
 85 τοῦ δέοντος ἔστω τὸ διάστημα, μὴ ποτε μήκοθεν ὄντος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου  
 ἄδειαν εὐρίσκοντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξιόντες τῶν πυλῶν πυρπολώσι καὶ  
 κατακόπτωσι τὰ πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα. εἰ δὲ σύμμετρον γένηται τὸ  
 διάστημα, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἀβλαβὴς συντηρηθήσεται, καὶ τοῖς ἐλε-  
 πολικοῖς ὀργάνοις καὶ τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν αὐτὰ χρείας ἐπειγούσης οἱ  
 90 στρατιῶται ἀπὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἐξερχόμενοι σὺν δρόμῳ ἐπιβοηθήσουσι.

Χρὴ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τάφρον εἶναι, ἵνα ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
 ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττηται τὸ στρατόπεδον. εἰ δὲ χρονία ἡ πολιορκία γενέ-  
 σθαι μέλλει, καὶ τεῖχος δομείσθω πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ λαοῦ. οὐκ ἔστι  
 δὲ δυνατόν, κυκλόθεν τοῦ τείχους ἀπληκεύσαι μελλούσης τῆς στρα-  
 95 τιᾶς, εἰς τετραγώνου σχήματος εἶδος ἀποτελεσθῆναι τὸ ἀπλήκτον,  
 ἀλλὰ κυκλοτερές, παρεκτεινομένης καὶ λεπθυνομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 διὰ τὴν κατεπείγουσαν χρεῖαν, ὅπως μήτε λαὸς πρὸς συμμαχίαν, εἰ  
 βούλοιτο, τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν δύναιτο, μήτε τροφὰς ἢ ἀγγελίας οἱ ἐν-  
 τὸς δέχωνται ἢ πέμπωσι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, ἄλλως τε δὲ ἵνα μὴ  
 100 ἀφ' ἑνὸς μέρους ἢ δύο ἢ τειχομαχία γένηται ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν, ὅπως  
 περισπώμενοι ἐξ ἑκάστου μέρους καὶ ἀντιποιοῦμενοι τοῦ παντός  
 μερίζωνται καὶ διασκορπίζωνται, κἀντεῦθεν ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ εὐ-  
 T 41 καταγώνιστοι | γίνωνται. εἰ δὲ τέλματα ἢ ὄρος ἀπὸ θάτερου μέρους  
 B f. 231<sup>v</sup> προσπελάζει τῷ τείχει, | εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπιτήδειον τόπον ἀσφαλῶς  
 105 γινέσθω τὸ ἀπλήκτον. τὰ δὲ πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα συντομίᾳ καὶ ταχ-  
 υτήτι γενέσθω πολλῇ, ἵνα μὴ τριβὴν εἰς αὐτὰ δεχόμενα τοῦ χρόνου  
 ἐπὶ κενῷ καταναλίσκωνται αἱ τροφαί. |

After this first trial our holy emperor should assemble selected, well-armed men from all the cavalry units and go off to inspect the camp and the city. He should ride around it in a circle, look it over and, in writing, assign each man a definite place for camp and for siege operations. Let him then return to the camp where he was. Early the next day our holy emperor should command the cavalry and infantry units to be armed. In good order and with proper display he should then proceed toward the city. From the sight alone the enemy may be confounded and lose heart. Let him station some good-sized units facing all the gates as a defensive measure, in case the enemy should charge out of the city to overwhelm the servants while they are still in disarray with each man concentrating on his own place in camp.

Each person should be ordered to set up camp in the place assigned to him. But the imperial tent, as was explained in another place, should be in the strongest and highest location. The inner rampart should be about two bow shots or more away from the wall, that is, far enough so arrows shot from a bow will not reach it, and neither will the missiles from the stone-throwing machines. Make sure that the distance is not greater than it should be. If the camp is too far away, the enemy may find it easy to sally forth from the gates, chop down our siege engines, and set them on fire. If the distance is not too great, the army will remain unharmed and, when an emergency arises, the soldiers will come out of their tents and race to the support of the siege artillery and the men defending it.

A ditch must be dug outside the camp, so that the troops can be securely protected on both sides. If the siege looks as though it will be a long one, construct a wall to protect our people. When the army is getting ready to encamp in a circle around the walls, it is not possible to build the camp in the shape of a square. It should, rather, be in a circle, thinning and stretching out the army as need dictates, so that nobody, if they might wish to do so, is able to enter the city to offer support and the inhabitants are not able to receive victuals or messages or to send them to their own people, and especially so that the assault on the walls will be kept up on all sides, not just one or two. They may try to resist, but, under pressure from all sides, they become completely divided and scattered and, as a result, weaker and easier to defeat. If marshy ground or a mountain is close to the wall on one of the sides, then only in a suitable place may the camp safely be located. Let the siege engines be set up quickly and with great rapidity, lest there be any sort of delay, and the provisions be consumed to no purpose.

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<sup>1</sup>The Saracens or Arabs were thought to be descended from Ismael, the son of Abraham and Agar (Hagar) (Gen. 16: 15). Here it must refer to the Muslims of Syria.

21: 18 δὲ S: γὰρ B || 22 κριθήν Graux: κριθῆναι SB || 28 παρεχούση Graux: παρέχωσι S: παρέχουσι B || 50 δὲ Vári: om. SB || 54 προαποστειλάτω Vári: στείλάτω SB || 55 πρὸ B: πρὸς S || 59 δηοῦντας Vári: δειουμένους S: δηουμένας B || 77 ἐκάστων Graux: ἐκάστῳ SB || 78 τούτους S: τούτοις B || 94 μελλούσης τῆς στρατιάς Graux: μέλλουσιν τὴν στρατιάν SB || 98 τὴν Vári: πρὸς τὴν SB || 99 δὲ B: δὲ καὶ S || 103 ὅρος Graux: ὅρους SB

(κβ'.)

S f. 275

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς εἰς συλλογὴν χρειῶν  
ἀποστελλομένους καὶ τοὺς νέμοντας τοὺς ἵππους.

Ἐκάστη οὖν ἡμέρᾳ φούλκα εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν τε εἰς συλλογὴν  
5 χόρτου ἐξερχομένων καὶ τῶν τοὺς ἵππους νεμόντων στελλέσθωσαν.  
εἰς καθαρὸν δὲ τόπον τούτους νεμέτωσαν καὶ μὴ εἰς δασεῖς καὶ  
ὕλῳδεις, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τοῖς ὑλῳδεσι τόποις τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων  
ἀπροόπτως ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταβλάπτονται. δουκάτωρας δὲ ἐμπείρους οἱ  
ἄρχοντες τῶν φούλκων ἐχέτωσαν ἐπισταμένους τὰς ὁδοὺς, δι' ὧν  
10 ἐστὶν εἰκὸς ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ταύτας ἀσφαλῶς φυλαττέ-  
τωσαν. ἐχέτωσαν δὲ καὶ βίγλας εἰς ἐπιτηδεῖους τόπους, ἀφ' ὧν δύνα-  
νται πολὺ διάστημα κατοπτεύειν γῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου φαίνοντος ἔτι πάν-  
τες ὑποστρέφωσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀπλήκτον. οἱ δὲ βιγλάτωρες, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
φοσσάτου ἀποστελλόμενοι, τούτων ὑποστρέφειν μελλόντων κατὰ τὸ  
15 ἔθος ἐξίτωσαν.

22: 10 φυλαττέτωσαν B: φυλαττέσθωσαν S

(κγ'.)

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ τροπώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους  
τοὺς παρατρέχοντας καὶ ἐνέδρας τιθεμένους  
κατὰ τῶν εἰς συλλογὴν χρειῶν ἐξερχομένων.

T 42

5 Εἰ δὲ πολεμίους μάθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρατρέχοντας καὶ ἐνεδρεύ-  
οντας κατὰ τε τῶν ἐξιόντων εἰς συλλογὴν χρειῶν | καὶ τῶν τοὺς ἵπ-  
πους νεμόντων, νυκτὸς σὺν τοῖς ἐξ ἔθους ἀποστελλομένοις φούλκοις  
καὶ ἕτερον ἵππικόν μάχιμον στείλάτω χρήσιμον ἀρχηγὸν ἔχον τῶν  
ἀνδρείων τινὰ καὶ ἐμπείρων, καὶ παρεγγνησάτω τούτῳ σκοτίας ἔτι

## [22.]

Protecting the men sent out to collect  
necessities and those pasturing  
the horses.

Each day let armed detachments be dispatched to protect the men going out to collect grass and to pasture the horses. They should bring them to graze in open spaces, not in thick or wooded ones, so that the enemy cannot hide in such places and unexpectedly cause them injury. The officer over the armed detachments should have experienced guides who know the roads along which it is likely that the enemy will attack, and they should guard them securely. They ought also to post sentries in suitable locations, from which they can keep a large expanse of ground under observation. While it is still daylight have everyone return to the camp. As they start on their way back, it is customary for the watchmen who are sent from the camp to head out.

## [23.]

How to drive back the enemy who are riding  
about laying ambushes against our men  
going out to collect provisions.

If the emperor learns that the enemy are rushing about and ambushing our men going out to collect provisions and pasture the horses, at night together with the armed detachments he should send out another combat force of cavalry under a good commander, courageous and experienced. He should give him orders to divide his contingent in two while it is still dark and set up two ambuscades, one forward,

- 10 οὔσης διχῇ διελεῖν τὸν λαὸν καὶ δύο καταστήσαι ἐνέδρας, μίαν προσωτέρω ἑτέραν δὲ ὀπισθεν. καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατὰ τῶν τὰς χρείας συλλεγόντων ἢ τῶν τοὺς ἵππους νεμόντων ὁρμησάντων οἱ τῆς πρώτης ἐνέδρας ἐκδραμόντες σφοδρᾷ ῥύμῃ τούτοις συρραγήτωσαν. ὁ δὲ ὀπισθεν λόχος ἐξελθὼν συντεταγμένος ἀκολουθεῖτω τούτοις ἄχρις οὗ ἀπὸ
- B f. 232 15 τῶν ἐάλωκότων αἰχμαλώτων πληροφορηθῶσι μὴ εἶναι τῶν ἐναντίων ἑτέραν δύναμιν ἐνεδρεύουσιν, καὶ μετὰ βεβαίωσιν | ἀσφαλῇ ἀνὰ κράτος καὶ αὐτοὶ διωξάτωσαν, ἕως ἂν τέλεον αὐτούς, Χριστοῦ ἀντιλήψει, ἐξαφανίσωσιν.

- Εἰ δὲ οἱ πολέμοι δι' ὀλιγότητα καὶ δειλίαν οὐκ ἀναδεύονται
- 20 πρὸς πόλεμον, χρή τοῖς ἐρανιζομένοις ὑπουργοῖς τὰ σιτία ἀναμίξαι τινὰς τῶν μαχίμων στολὰς ἡμφιεσμένους ὑπουργῶν, ἵνα ὑποκρύπτωνται τὰ τούτων ὅπλα, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέρος, οὐ παρατρέχειν γνῶ τοὺς
- S f. 275<sup>v</sup> πολεμίους, ἐκείσε μετὰ | τῶν ὑπηρετῶν στειλάτω εἰς τὰ χωρία συνεισελθεῖν. τὰ δὲ φοῦλκα ἐγγύθι τῶν χωρίων κεκρυμμένα ἔστωσαν, καὶ
- 25 ἐὰν οἱ πολέμοι τῷ προσχήματι τούτῳ ἀπατηθῶσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατασχεῖν τούτους ἐπέλθωσιν, οἱ ἀναμίξ ὄντες τοῖς ὑπηρέταις στρατιῶται συμπλακέντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις μικρὸν τούτους ἀναχαιτίσουσιν, εἴτα οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐξελθόντες ἀξιόλογον ἔργον ὅσον ἐστὶ στοχάσασθαι ἐκτελέσουσι.

23: 3 ἐνέδρας τιθεμένους S: ἐνέδρους τιθεμένας B || 11 καὶ S: κατὰ B || 14 συντεταγμένος Vári: συντεταγμένοις SB || 27 ἀναχαιτίσουσιν Vári: ἀναχαιτίσωσιν SB || 29 ἐκτελέσουσι S: ἐκτελέσωσι B

(κδ'.)

- T 43 Περὶ τοῦ εἰ γνωσθῶσιν οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς δυνάμεως κρύφα μέλλοντες | ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἢ τοῖς πρὸς συλλογὴν (χρειῶν) ἐξιούσιν ὑπουργοῖς.

- 5 Εἰ δὲ τοὺς τῶν δυσμενῶν ἀρχηγούς ὁ βασιλεὺς πύθεται τῇ στρατιᾷ μέλλοντας κρύφα καὶ ἀδοκῆτως συμβαλεῖν ἢ τοὺς τὰς τροφὰς ἐρανιζομένους ὑπουργοὺς τραυματίσαι, πλείονας δεῖ λόχους ἱππικῶν τάξεων παρασκευάσαι, ἐξερχομένου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖφ τόπῳ ἐγκρυπτομένου. Ἐπειδ' ἂν δὲ συναφθῇ
- 10 πόλεμος καὶ καρτερὰ ἀναφθῇ μάχη, εἰ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπικρατεστέρους θεᾶται, βοήθειαν στελλέτω τοῖς ποινουμένοις καὶ ὀκλάζουσιν ἀκολουθῶν καὶ αὐτὸς κατόπιν συντεταγμένος. καὶ εἰ φρονίμως καὶ ἀνδρικῶς οἱ σταλέντες τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διάθοντο, ὑπερισχύσουσι

the other to the rear. When the enemy then attack our men collecting provisions or pasturing the horses, the troops in the first ambush charge out against them with great vehemence and break them in pieces. The other ambushing party to the rear comes out in formation and follows them until they learn from the prisoners they take that there is no other enemy force lying in wait. After definitely confirming this, they vigorously pursue them until, by the assistance of Christ, they utterly destroy them.

But if the enemy, because they are few in number and afraid, are not enthused about fighting, then we must mix in with the servants who gather the provisions some fighting men dressed in servants' garb, under which they can hide their weapons. Together with the servants they should be ordered to go into those areas in which we know the enemy are rushing about. The armed contingents should be stationed in those areas in concealment. If the enemy are deceived by this disguise and charge in to capture them, the soldiers mixed in with the servants join battle with the enemy and hold them in check for a while. Then our other troops charge out from ambush, and one can just guess what a memorable deed they will accomplish.

[24.]

If the enemy commanders and their forces are  
making plans for covert action against the  
army's camp or the servants going out  
to gather provisions.

If the emperor learns that the enemy commanders are getting ready to make a secret, surprise attack against our army or to injure the servants as they are gathering provisions, he should detail several contingents from the cavalry units. He should himself, our holy emperor, ride out and conceal himself in a suitable location. When the fighting flares up and becomes intense, then if the emperor observes that the enemy are prevailing, let him send support to the men who are hard pressed and being pushed back, and he should himself follow behind in formation. If the men who had been sent handle the fighting intelligently and bravely, they will pre-

- τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι· πλὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος, ἀλλὰ  
 15 καὶ πᾶς ἄρχων τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐν καιρῷ πολιορκίας μὴ πόρρω δι-  
 ωκέτω, μήτε μὴν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ ἄνευ μεγάλης περιστάσεως λυέτω,  
 εἰ μὴ ποτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἀδράν ἔχοντες δύναμιν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπερι-  
 σχύσαντες τάξεων σφοδρᾷ ῥύμῃ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέλθωσιν. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ πολέ-  
 20 μοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπέρχονται, ἡ πολιορκία σχολὴν ἀγέτω, μόνον δὲ  
 τὸ ἀπλήκτον καὶ τὰ πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα ἀσφαλῶς φυλαττέσθωσαν  
 μετὰ τοῦ ἐξαρκούντος λαοῦ.

24: 4 χρείων Graux: om. SB || 5 τοὺς . . . ἄρχηγούς Graux: τοῖς . . . ἀρχηγοῖς SB || πύθεται  
 S: πύθονται B || 13 ὑπερισχύουσιν Vári: ὑπερισχύωσι SB

⟨κε'⟩

B f. 232<sup>v</sup>

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ νυκτὸς τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἐπελθεῖν.

- Εἰ δὲ παραφυλάττοιεν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἐκτὸς πολέμοιοι καὶ μὴδ'  
 T 44 5 ὅπως οὖν παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιτηδευθέντες ἔτραν|ματίσθησαν,  
 προσήκει μαθεῖν δι' αἰχμαλώτων ἢ κατασκόπων ἢ αὐτομόλων, ἐν  
 ποίῳ αὐλίζονται τόπῳ καὶ ὁπόσῃν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν. καὶ εἰ μὴ πόρρω  
 S f. 276 τοῦ φοσσάτου εἶεν, | ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐχ ὅλης ἡμέρας διάστημα, ὥς εἶναι  
 δυνατὸν ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας ἀρξάμενον τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ τὸ λυκαυγὲς καταλή-  
 10 ψεσθαι τὸ ἐκείνων ἀπλήκτον, τότε μερίζονα δύναμιν ἱππέων παρ' ἣν οἱ  
 πολέμοιοι ἔχουσιν ἀφορίσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβόμενός τε καὶ πεζοὺς  
 ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας καὶ τινας τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔχοντας ἄλογα κρείτ-  
 τονα καὶ ῥῶς ἱππότας—περιποιησάμενος δηλονότι καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 ἀπλήκτου ἀσφάλειαν διὰ στρατοῦ ἐξικανούντος κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν—  
 15 μετὰ δονκατῶρων ἐμπείρων ἀπίτω, μηδενὸς εἰδότης ἐκτὸς τῶν συμ-  
 βούλων, ὅπη πορεύεται. πλὴν μὴ ἀτάκτως καὶ ὥς ἔτυχε τὴν πρὸς  
 ἐκείνους ὁδὸν στελλέσθω, ἀλλ' ἐκάστη παράταξις τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐν τάξει  
 καὶ σιωπῇ ἐφομαρτεῖτω, οἱ δὲ τῆς πεζικῆς στρατιᾶς κατόπιν πασῶν  
 τῶν ἱππικῶν τάξεων, ἱππῶται καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν τοῖς ῥῶς πορευέσθωσαν,  
 20 καὶ εἴπερ ἀφυλάκτους καταλήφονται τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἄρτι διαναγαζούσης  
 ἡμέρας, συνεργίᾳ Θεοῦ μέγα ἔργον ἀνύσουσι. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων  
 γνόντων, εἰ μὲν εἰς μάχην στῶσιν, ἐλάττους ὄντες ἡττηθήσονται, εἰ  
 μὴ ποτε σφάλμα τι παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγχωρήσει Θεοῦ γένηται.  
 Δεῖ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑφορώμενον ἐνέδρας μὴ εἶσαι τὸν λαὸν  
 25 ἀτάκτως ἐμβαλεῖν τῇ τούτων ἀποσκευῇ, μὴ ποτε τῶν οἰκείων ἀνὰ  
 ταύτην σκεδασθέντων ἐπιπεσόντες οἱ δυσμενεῖς, ὅπερ αἰεὶ τούτοις ἐξ

vail over their enemies by the grace of God. Our holy emperor, or any military commander, for that matter, should not conduct the pursuit very far during a siege, nor should he break up his formation except in a serious emergency, for example, if the enemy force is very large and it overcomes the rest of our units and charges with great vehemence against him. Whenever the enemy launch an attack from the outside, the siege operations may be slowed down, making sure, however, to keep the camp and the artillery securely guarded by a large enough force.

[25.]

How to attack the enemy's camp at night.

If the enemy posted outside are very much on their guard and have not been under attack or been injured at all by our troops, we should learn from prisoners, spies, or deserters the location of their encampment and the size of their force. If it is not far from our own camp, say, less than a day's journey, so that it is possible to begin the march in the evening and to reach their camp by early dawn, the emperor should set apart a force of horsemen larger than that which the enemy has. He should take some infantry, javelin throwers, archers, and some regular soldiers who have better horses, as well as some mounted Rhos. He should, of course, make certain that our camp is defended against the enemy by a sufficient number of troops. Let him then head off with experienced guides, not informing anyone, apart from his advisors, where he is going. It is important that the march toward the enemy not be disorderly or haphazard, but each unit should proceed along with the other in order and silence. The infantry contingents should be behind all the cavalry units, whereas the cavalymen advance along with the Rhos. If they should come upon the enemy when their guard is down, just about at daybreak, with the cooperation of God, they will achieve something significant. Should the enemy be alert, though, and stand and fight, they will, if they are fewer than we, be defeated, unless God allows our people to make some mistake.

One has to be on the lookout for enemy ambushes. Our people should not be allowed to launch a disorderly attack on their supply train. Otherwise, the enemy will fall upon our men as they are scattered about doing that. They are always mak-



- T 45 ἔθους νῦν μεμηχάνηται, ἐν τοῖς ἀπλήκτοις αὐτῶν τινα βλάβην εἰς τὸν  
 στρατὸν ἐργάσωνται. | ἀλλὰ πρότερον τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 30 μαχίμου φροντίσαντες εὐχερῶς ἔξοιεν ἐπ' ἔσχατον καὶ τὰ προσόντα  
 αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα. εἰ δὲ φυγῇ χρήσονται, διώκειν δεῖ αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀφυ-  
 λάκτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀκριβείας καὶ ἐμπειρίας. καὶ εἰ καταλήψονται  
 τούτους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ὥσει σφοδρὰν ποιησάσθωσαν τὴν  
 κατ' αὐτῶν δίωξιν καὶ συνεργίαν Θεοῦ ὄλεθρον αὐτῶν ἐργάσωνται  
 μέγαν. εἰ δὲ εἰς ὄρος εἴτε ἕτερόν τινα ὄχυρόν καταφύγῃσι τόπον,  
 B f. 233 35 καταλαμβανόντων | τῶν πεζῶν καὶ διαταξαμένων ὡσαύτως καὶ τῶν  
 καβαλλαρίων, καθὼς ὁ τόπος ἄδειαν δίδωσι, τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν στερεῶς  
 ἐχέσθωσαν μάχης. εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκεῖσέ εἰσι, κατα-  
 λιπεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐ συμφέρον, ἀλλ' εἰ δεήσει καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς στρα-  
 S f. 276<sup>v</sup> τιᾶς | μεταστήτω κάκεισε γενέσθω, καὶ μὴ ἐαθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροί, ἕως ἂν  
 40 ἢ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἵππους λιπόντες διὰ τῶν ὁρέων δυνηθῶσι φυγεῖν ἢ  
 πολέμῳ ἀλώσιν.

25: 21 πολεμίων B: λοιπολεμίων S || 22 εἰ S: εἰς B || 27 νῦν B: om. S || 37 οἱ B: om. S

⟨κς' .⟩

Πῶς δυνατόν ἐστι μετ' ἐπιτηδεύσεως τοὺς πολιορκουμένους  
 πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἐπισπάσασθαι καὶ τραυματίσαι αὐτούς.

- Δυνατόν δέ ἐστι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδεύσασθαι καθὼς  
 5 πολλάκις ἐθεασάμεθα γεγονὸς αὐτοῖ τε ἡμεῖς καὶ ἕτεροι πλείστοι.  
 δεῖ γὰρ νύκτωρ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς κατέναντι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν δύ-  
 ναμιν ἱκανὴν πεζικὴν ἐγκρῦσαι, ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἐχόντων ἐκάστων τὰ ἐπι-  
 τήδεια ὄπλα. ἐμπειρία δὲ καὶ φρονήσῃ πλείστοι οἱ τούτων ἀρχηγοὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων διαφερέτωσαν. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἐξ ἱππέων ἐνέδρας κατα-  
 T 46 10 στήσαι ἐν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν τόποις ἐπιστήσαι τε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡγε | μόνας τῶν  
 ἀρίστων καὶ ἐπιλέκτων· εἰτα πλάσασθαι φανεράν ἐξέλευσιν, ὥς  
 δῆθεν τῶν ἐκτὸς πολεμίων φανέντων καὶ τοῖς τοὺς ἵππους νέμονσι  
 βουλομένων ἐπιτεθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἀπλήκτον κενὸν καὶ ἔρημον μα-  
 χομένων πρὸς ἀπάτην τῶν ἐχθρῶν παραδεικνύναι, μόνων ὥς εἰκὸς  
 15 φαινομένων τῶν ὑπουργῶν καὶ τὰς προσηκούσας αὐτοῖς ἐνεργούντων  
 ὑπηρεσίας· μετὰ δὲ τὸ μακρυνθῆναι τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ στήναι  
 τόπῳ καὶ βίγλας ἔχειν τοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκοπεῖν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον.  
 ἐπειδ' ἂν δὲ τὸν μαχίμον οἱ πολιορκούμενοι λαὸν γνῶσιν πρὸς πόλε-  
 μον τὸν ἐκτὸς ἐξελθόντα, μετὰ τὸ ἐκείνους μακρυνθῆναι, ἴσως οἱ ἐχ-

ing use of this trick now, so that even in their camps they can cause some harm to our army. On the contrary, by making the destruction of the enemy fighting force our first priority we might easily end up taking possession of all their belongings as well. If they turn to flight, do not pursue them without taking precautions, but do it in a careful and experienced way. If our men catch up with them, apart from the ones they capture, they should carry out their pursuit with great vigor and, with God's assistance, they will effect great destruction among them. If they seek refuge on a mountain or some other strong place, wait until the infantry arrives and gets in position, likewise some cavalry, as the terrain permits, and attack them relentlessly. If the rulers of the people are also present there, it is not a good idea to let them go. If necessary, have the rest of the army come and take up position there. No leeway should be given the enemy until either they abandon their horses and manage to flee on foot through the mountains or they are taken in battle.

[26.]

Possible methods of luring the besieged  
outside and injuring them.

It is possible to take some action against the people in the city, as we and many others have often observed. At night in the tents which are opposite the gates of the city a good-sized infantry force must be concealed, with each man holding the proper weapons in his hands. Most of their officers should be above average in intelligence and experience. In addition to these, set up ambushes with cavalrymen in suitable locations, placing them under the very best, selected commanders. They should then make believe they are riding away, so the enemy who are outside will get the idea of attacking the men pasturing the horses. To deceive the enemy the camp will be made to look emptied of fighting men and deserted. The only people in sight will be the servants busily going about their regular duties. After the cavalry has gotten a good distance from the city they should halt in a concealed location and put out sentries to observe carefully what is happening. When the besieged enemy realize that the fighting men have ridden off for battle and have gotten some distance

- 20 θροὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἐξελθόντες ἐπιδραμοῦνται τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς ὀργάνοις πρὸς τὸ συντρίψαι ταῦτα καὶ πυρπολῆσαι. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οἱ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες φυγὴν ὑποκριθήτωσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀπλήκτον, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ θαρρήσουσιν οἱ δυσμενεῖς εἰσελθεῖν, καρτερησάτωσαν οἱ λοχῶντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς, ἄχρις ἂν ἀφαρπάξουν τὰ
- 25 λάφυρα ἄρξωνται. καὶ τότε οἱ μὲν τῆς ἵππικῆς ἐνέδρας πρὸς τὸ τὰς πύλας κατασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκτὸς ἀπεῖρξαι ὁξέως ὀρμησάτωσαν, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ τῶν σκηνῶν ἐξελθόντες τῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς μάχης ἀπτέσθωσαν, | καὶ εἴπερ καλῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως τὸ τοιόνδε ἐπιτήδευμα οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἡγεμόνες | διάθουιντο ἐπισκῆπτοντες μὴ ἀτάκτως τινὰ
- 30 πρὸ καιροῦ ἐκδραμεῖν κἀντεῦθεν εὐφώρατον γενέσθαι τὴν ἐνέδραν τοῖς πολεμίους, ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔργον Θεοῦ κατορθωθήσεται χάριτι. εἶδομεν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μυρίοι τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ οὐ μόνον μεγάλως τραυματισθέντας τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρούρια ἐνίστε αὐτοὶ | βοεῖ ἀλόντα.
- 35 Εἰ δὲ ἔφοδος μεγάλων πολεμίων δυνάμεων προσδοκᾶται, ἀποχωρεῖν δεῖ τῆς πολιορκουμένης πόλεως, καὶ ταύτης πορρωτάτῳ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω τόπῳ στρατοπεδεύειν κἀντεῦθεν ἐτοιμάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν.

B f. 233<sup>v</sup>

S f. 277

T 47

26: 3 ἐπισπάσασθαι Graux: ἐπισπασάμενον SB || 23 θαρρήσουσιν Graux: θαρρήσωσιν SB || 24 λοχῶντες Vári: λοχοῦντες SB || 25 ἵππικῆς S: ἵππι B || 32 ἡμεῖς B: ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς S

(κζ'.)

### Περὶ τειχομαχίας.

- Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀρξάμενοι πρὸς ἕτερα τὸν λόγον μετηγάγομεν, νῦν καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ ἐγγχωρὸν διαληψόμεθα. ἡ
- 5 πολιορκία, ἥτοι ἡ τειχομαχία, πολυειδὴς καὶ πολυμήχανός ἐστι. γίνονται γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν ὀρύγματα, καὶ κριοὶ κατασκευάζονται καὶ χελῶναι καὶ πετροβόλοι λέσαι τε καὶ ξύλινοι πύργοι καὶ κλίμακες, καὶ χωμάτων σωρεῖα εἰς βοννὸν ἀποτελούμενα καὶ ἕτερα ἐλεπολικά κατασκευάζονται καὶ ἐπιτηδεύονται ὄργανα, ὑπὲρ ὧν ταῖς τῶν πα-
- 10 λαιῶν βίβλοις ἐντυχὼν ἐπιστατικώτερον καὶ πλείονα τούτων εὐρήσεις συγγεγραφεκότας ἐκείνους, καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν περιττὴν ἡγησάμεθα τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ λεπτὸν γραφήν, τοῦ λόγου τὸν κόρον καὶ τὴν γραφήν ἐκφεύγοντες.
- Ἐξεσσι δὲ (καὶ) τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐξ ἐναντίας ἕκαστον τοῦ ἰδίου
- 15 ἀπλήκτου τὴν στάσιν ἔχοντα πολιορκεῖν, ἔπειτα (τὰ) κρείττονα τῶν

away, they may come out of their gates, charge upon the siege engines to wreck them and set them on fire. When this happens, the men guarding them make believe they are fleeing into the camp. This makes the enemy bold enough to enter it. Let our soldiers hiding in the tents wait until they begin plundering the place, then the cavalymen in ambush quickly race out to hold the gates and force the enemy to stay outside, while the infantry dash out of the tents and engage in hand-to-hand combat. If the leaders of the men left behind have laid their plans efficiently and well, carefully watching that nobody breaks ranks and rushes out ahead of time, which would enable the enemy to discover the ambush, then, by God's grace, they will end up with a truly memorable achievement. For we ourselves and thousands of others, as we said, have seen the enemy not only grievously injured by such a stratagem, but have sometimes seen fortresses taken in this way without striking a blow.

If large enemy forces are expected to arrive, we must withdraw from the besieged city and set up camp in a suitable location a good distance away. We can there make ready to meet the enemy battle line.

## [27.]

### Fighting on the walls.

Since, after beginning with siege operations, we moved on to another topic, we shall now resume our original discussion as best we can. Siege operations or fighting on the walls implies a wide variety of forms and great inventiveness. Excavations are made under ground. Battering rams must be prepared, tortoises, stone-throwing machines, ropes, wooden towers, and ladders. A mound of dirt is piled up to make a hill. Other devices to take a city are gotten ready, and engines are built. About these matters you will find that the ancient authorities have written excellent and very practical things in their books more scientifically and in greater detail than the present work. For this reason, therefore, it seems superfluous for us to write about these matters in any detail, and we shall refrain from excessive writing.

Each leader can take position opposite his own campsite to carry out his part in the siege. The stronger siege machines should be located and brought to bear on

ἐλεπολικῶν μηχανημάτων κατὰ τὸ εὐκολώτερον μέρος τῆς τάφρου  
 τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῦ τείχους σαθρότερον ἔχειν τε καὶ προσφέρε-  
 σθαι, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν ἰσχυροτέραν δύναμιν καὶ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τοὺς  
 ἐμπείρους· καὶ μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας ἀνίσσθαι τὴν τειχομαχίαν  
 T 48 20 καθ' ὅλου τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως τῇ συνε|χειᾷ καὶ σφοδρότητι  
 τοῦ πολέμου, τὸ μὲν ἐκλυθέντες οἱ ἐντὸς καὶ ταλαιπωρηθέντες, τὸ δὲ  
 τραυματιζόμενοι καὶ μὴ πρὸς πάντα δυσχερῇ ἀντισχεῖν δυνάμενοι,  
 B f. 234 ἀπογνῶ|σι τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας καὶ ἢ πίστεις δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ λαβόν-  
 S f. 277<sup>v</sup> τες ὑποταγῶσιν, ἢ χαννῶ | θέντες νόμῳ πολέμου ἀλῶσι καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν  
 25 βασιλικὴν γένωνται χεῖρα.

27: 12 λεπτόν Vári: λεπτῶ SB || 14 καὶ Graux: om. SB || 15 τὰ κρείττονα Graux: κρείττον SB

⟨κη' .⟩

Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τὸν στρατὸν γυμνάζεσθαι.

Τὸ δὲ (δεῖν) γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ ἀδνουμιάζεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν παλαιῶν παρειλήφαμεν. ἔστι γὰρ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατον.  
 5 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον σύμπασαν ἐγύμναζον τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 καθένα ἕκαστον στρατιώτην ἐξασκούντες ἐδίδασκον ἐντέχνως τοῖς  
 ὅπλοις χρῆσθαι, ἵν' ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἢ ἀνδρείᾳ συνεργῶ χρωμένη  
 τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ τῶν ὅπλων ἀήττητος ᾗ. χρεῖα τοίνυν ἔστι τῶν  
 γυμνασιῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα ἐπιμελείας. πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν πάλαι  
 10 Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων μετὰ πληθύνος ὀλίγης στρατιᾶς τῶν γεγυμ-  
 νασμένων καὶ ἐμπείρων μυριάνδρα στρατόπεδα κατετροπώσαντο.

Τὸ δὲ οἱ μένειν καὶ ἀργεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μήτε γυμνά-  
 ζεσθαι μήτε ταξειδεύειν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καθ' ὃν ἔξεστι καιρόν, εἰς  
 ἐμπόρων καὶ ἀγελαίων γεωργῶν τάξιν αὐτοὺς κατάγει. τὴν γὰρ πόλε-  
 15 μικήν πανοπλίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἵππους ἀπεμπολοῦντες βόας  
 ἐξωνοῦνται καὶ τὰλλα τὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον  
 ἐθιζόμενοι πρὸς ἀργίαν μᾶλλον ταύτην ἀσπάζονται καὶ αἰροῦνται ὡς  
 ἀταλαιπωρον καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ἢ περ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀγῶνας  
 καὶ πόνους. καὶ εἰ χρεῖα γένηται πολεμίων ἐπιόντων ἐξάγειν τὴν  
 T 49 20 στρατιάν, ὥσπερ | ἀνάγκη τοιαῦτα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιέναι ἐκάστοτε,  
 οὐδεὶς εὐρεθήσεται στρατιώτου ἔχων ἐνέργειαν. ἢ γὰρ ἀργία καὶ τὸ  
 μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι πάντῃ ἀνάνδρους καὶ ἐκκελυμένους ἀπεργάζεται,  
 ὥσπερ τὸ περὶ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖν καὶ ἐξασκεῖσθαι ἀνδρείους καὶ εἰς  
 πλεῖστον ἰσχύος μέρος ἐπιδιδόντας. καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ

the more level section of the ditch dug by the enemy and the more unsound part of the wall. There too should be our stronger force and our experienced officers. There should be no let up by night or by day in attacking the wall, along its whole length around the city. Because of the sustained impact of the attack, the people inside will fall apart and become demoralized. Some will be wounded. They will not be able to stand up to all the punishment. They will despair of their own safety. Then either they will submit after exchanging pledges, or, greatly weakened, they will be taken by the law of war and be subject to the emperor.

[28.]

Training the army.

The ancients have passed on to us the necessity of training and organizing the army, which is obviously useful and quite fundamental. They would train not only the army as a unit, but they would also teach each individual soldier and have him practice how to use his weapons skillfully. In actual combat, then, bravery, assisted by experience and skill in handling weapons, should make him invincible. There is, assuredly, a need for exercises and for careful attention to weapons. For many of the Romans and Greeks of old with small armies of trained and experienced men put to flight armies of tens of thousands of troops.

But for soldiers to stay at home and do nothing, to get no exercise, not to go on campaign each year at the proper time, this is to reduce them to the ranks of merchants and common farmers. For, selling their combat gear and their best horses and buying cows and the other things one would expect of a farmer, and gradually becoming accustomed to leisure, they embrace it. It involves no fatigue or danger, and they prefer it to the struggles and labors on behalf of Christians. If, in the event of an enemy advance, it should be necessary for the army to march out, for the Romans have been forced to deal with such situations in the past, nobody will be found who can do the work of a soldier. Idleness and the lack of practice make them completely unmanly and incompetent, just as exercising and working at such things help to make them manly and much more powerful. This is obvious in the case of

- 25 ἄκρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς κατωκισμένων καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γειτονούντων. ἐκείνους γὰρ τὸ ἄπανστον καὶ ἐνδεδεχὲς τῶν πολέμων νεανικὸς ἔτι καὶ γενναίους ἀπεργάζεται. πρὸς δὲ τὴν γυμνασίαν καὶ τοὺς ταξιδίους καὶ τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν ἐλευθέρους ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπηρείας συντηρεῖσθαι, κατὰ τοὺς δόξαντας πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις νόμους, προσήκει  
 S f. 278 30 τιμᾶ|σθαί τε | κατὰ τὸ ἀρμόζον ὡς τῶν Χριστιανῶν προμάχους, καὶ  
 B f. 234<sup>v</sup> μὴ παρὰ τινος τῶν φορολόγων ἀτιμοῦσθαι καὶ καθυβρίζεσθαι μάλιστα. ἡ γὰρ τιμὴ καὶ ἐλευθερία διεγείρει τούτους εἰς εὐτολμίαν καταφρονεῖν τε πείθει παντὸς θανάτου καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐκθύμως τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν πατρίδος, ὥσπερ ἀνάπαλιν  
 35 αἱ ζημίαι καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀτιμοῦσθαι ῥαθύμους καὶ ἀτόλμως εἶναι καὶ καταπλήγας παρασκευάζει.

28: 2 στρατὸν Graux: στρατηγόν SB || 3 δεῖν Graux: om. SB || 6 καθένα Vári: καθέν SB || 26 πολέμων Graux: πολεμίων SB || 27 ἔτι Graux: ὅτι SB: τε Vári || τοὺς ταξιδίους Vári: τοῖς ταξιδίοις SB || 28 ἐπηρείας Graux: ἐμπειρίας SB || 29 ῥωμαίοις Graux: ῥωμαίων SB || 31 μάλιστα De: κάλλιστον SB || 33 πείθει S: πάθει B: ποιεῖ conj. Vári || 34 ὥσπερ Vári: ὥσπερ τὸ SB || 35 τὸ S: om. B

(κθ'.)

### Περὶ ἀδνουμίων

- T 50 Τὰ δὲ καθολικὰ ἀδνούμια οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σύστασιν τοῦ παντός εἰσι στρατεύματος, καὶ | τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τῶν  
 5 παλαιῶν στρατηγῶν. οὐ μετρίως γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδνουμίων ἐφρόντιζον.

- Ἐξέστι τοίνυν πρὸ τοῦ τῆς πολεμίας ἐπιβῆναι γῆς ἅπαν ἀδνουμιάζεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα δι' οἰκείων καὶ πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως, ὅπως γνωσθῶσιν ὅσοι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ταξειδεῦσαι συννεῖσιν τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ, ὅσοι δὲ ὑπελείφθησαν οἴκοι, ὅσοι δὲ  
 10 καὶ ἔφυγον, πρὸς τοῦτω καὶ τίνες μὲν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὑπελείφθησαν, τίνες δὲ καὶ τεθνήκασιν, καὶ τίνες καλῶς τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς πανοπλίας κέκτηνται. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖσθαι δεῖ ἕκαστα, ἀλλ' εἰδέναι τίνες μὲν κοπιῶσι, τίνες δὲ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν τὰ  
 15 οἰκεία προέκριναν τῶν κοινῶν, ὅπόσοι δὲ ἄλλως ἀπελείφθησαν· καὶ μὴ ἐν ἴσῃ μοίρᾳ τάττωνται οἱ θανάτοις καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαις ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες τοῖς ῥαθύμοις καὶ ἀναπεπτωκόσιν, ἀλλ' ἄξια τῶν πεπραγμένων ἕκαστος ἀπολαμβάνη, οἱ μὲν εὐεργεσίαις, οἱ δὲ τὴν δοκοῦσαν τῷ νόμῳ ἄμυναν. οἱ γὰρ δι' ἀσθένειαν λιποτακτήσαντες  
 20 ἀπολελυμένοι παντός εἰσιν ἐγκλήματος ὡς μὴ προαιρέσει ἀλλ' ἀκουσίως τοῦτο δεδρακότες.

those who dwell on the borders of the Roman realm and have our enemies as neighbors. There the unceasing, perpetual warfare continues to keep them vigorous and brave. In view of their training and going on campaign, it is right that their homes be preserved free of every outrage, according to the laws of the ancient Romans, and it is fitting that they should be honored as defenders of the Christians. These men should not be dishonored by some tax collector or, even worse, treated with contempt. For honor and freedom arouse them to boldness and persuade them to condemn all kinds of death and eagerly endure dangers for our holy emperor and their own fatherland. On the contrary, penalizing them, despising and dishonoring them makes them become lazy, cowardly, and fearful.

### [29.]

#### Muster rolls

The general muster rolls are not the least of the elements assuring the security and coherence of the army. From ancient times commanders have made this clear, for they did not think lightly of such muster rolls.

Now, then, before marching into hostile territory, the entire army can be registered by trustworthy servants of our holy emperor. This will enable his holy majesty to know how many men there are for the expedition, how many have been left at home, how many have run away. In addition he will learn which ones have actually been left behind because of weakness, which ones have died, which ones keep their horses and fighting gear in good condition. He should not be ignorant of any of these. But he should know who is working hard, who is lazy enough to prefer his own comfort to the common good, and how many have slacked off in other respects. Men who have risked death and capture should not be lined up in the same division as the lazy and slothful. But each man should be rewarded for what he has done, some for their good service, and others receiving what is meted out by the law. Men who have left their post because of infirmity are absolved of any crime since they did this not by choice but unwillingly.



Καὶ εἵπερ φυλάττοιτο ἡ ἀκρίβεια αὕτη τῶν ἀδνουμίων, τοῦ τα-  
 ξειδίου οὐ τολμήσουσιν οἱ στρατενόμενοι ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
 S f. 278<sup>v</sup> 25 βίαν | ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἴδια, εἴτα τοῦ στρατεύματος ἤδη ἐμ-  
 βάλλοντος τῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ, οὗτοι κατόπιν ἐρχόμενοι καὶ μόνοι τὴν ἐρη-  
 μίαν διαβῆναι καταναγκασθέντες τὸν ἐσχατον ὑπέστησαν ὄλεθρον.  
 B f. 234 bis εἶδομεν δὲ καὶ | τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ σὺν τῷ  
 λαῷ αὐτῶν μεγάλας ὑποστάντας βλάβας παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ταῖς  
 30 κλεισούραις.

Χρῆ δὲ καὶ ὑποστρέφοντος καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γινομένου τοῦ στρατοῦ  
 αὐθις τελείσθω τὸ ἀδνούμιον, ἵνα μὴ τις τολμᾷ ἄνευ βασιλικῆς προ-  
 στάξεως ὑποχωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶσι πάντες μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρ-  
 χόντων ἄχρι τῆς καθο|λικῆς ἀπολύσεως, καὶ εἴ που τινὲς τοῦ πρώτου  
 T 51 35 ἀδνουμίου ἀπολειφθέντες μετ' αὐτὸ κατέλαβον διὰ τοῦ ἐσχάτου ἐπι-  
 γινώσκονται, καὶ, ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο γενηται, χεῖρων ἐπακο-  
 λουθεῖ λύμη καὶ μείζων. τῇ γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιθυμίᾳ καταλιμπά-  
 νοντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν τὸν ἅγιον καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν  
 ἄρχοντας προεξέρχονται. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπακολουθοῦντες καὶ τὴν  
 40 ὀλιγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ θεώμενοι τούτου μεγάλην εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐργάζον-  
 ται τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ (τὴν) αἰχμαλωσίαν.

29: 14 κοπιῶσι S: σκοπιῶσι B || 16 θανάτοις B: θανάτους S || 29 ὑποστάντας Graux: ὑπο-  
 στάντα SB || 40 τούτου Graux: τούτους SB || 41 τὴν Graux: om. SB

(λ'.)

Περὶ τοῦ διδάσκειν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἐθίζειν ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ  
 ὄντα κατὰ τάξιν ἀπληκεύειν καὶ ὁδοιοπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γενέσθαι τὸ ἐκτεθὲν ἀπλήκτον δι-  
 5 δάσκειν τὸν στρατὸν τρεῖς καὶ τετράκις ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὄντα χώρα ἀπληκεύ-  
 σαντα κατὰ τάξιν καὶ πᾶσαν τηρήσαντα τὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀκρίβειαν,  
 ἢ ἐκάστων μαθόντων ἀκριβῶς τὰς στάσεις αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπλη-  
 κεύωσιν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐκδεδομένην μετὰ  
 τάξεως ὁδοιοπορίαν, ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὄντα παιδεύειν τὴν στρατιάν, ἵνα  
 10 μετὰ καταστάσεως καὶ εὐταξίας ἐθισθεῖσα ὁδοιοπορεῖν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν  
 ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ φυλάττουσα ἀκρίβειαν ἀνωτέρω πάσης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν συντηρῆται κακώσεως. |

If the muster rolls are kept accurately, the men serving in the army will not dare to stay behind when there is an expedition. Contemning the muster roll in this way results in some men heading off to their homes without any fear, and then after the expeditionary force has marched into foreign territory, these tag along behind. They are forced to travel alone through wastelands and end up getting themselves killed. We even know not a few generals who together with their troops have suffered grievous harm at the hands of the enemy in the mountain passes because they have acted in this way.

When the army is returning and when it is in its own country, it is again necessary to complete the muster roll. This is to prevent anyone from daring to retire without imperial permission. But all the men should stay with their own officers until the general dismissal. If, for some reason, any troops should arrive too late and be left off the first muster roll, they may be listed in the later one. To put it simply, if this is not done, more serious and more extensive damage will follow. Soldiers, looking only to their own interests, wander off ahead leaving our holy emperor and their own officers in the lurch. The enemy, who are following along, will notice how small this army has become and cause great destruction and take many captives.

### [30.]

Teaching the army while it is still in its  
own country and accustoming it to encamp  
and to march in proper order.

Before arriving in hostile territory it is necessary to teach the layout of the camp to the army and, while still in their own country, to have the troops encamp three or four times in proper order and to observe this with complete exactitude. In this way each man will learn his exact position and be able to encamp safely in hostile territory. The same should be done in setting out on the march in proper order. While still in its own country the army should be trained, so that, accustomed to marching in good shape and good order, it will observe exactly the same order in hostile territory and will remain unaffected by any damage the enemy can cause.

30: 8 κατὰ Vári: καὶ SB || 10 ἐθισθεῖσα Graux: ἐθισθεῖσαι SB

(λα'.)

Περὶ τοῦ ὑπαλλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐκτελούσας τάξεις τὴν  
τοῦ σάκα διακονίαν διὰ τὸν πολὺν κόπον, τοῦ  
ἄρχοντος εἰ δυνατόν μένοντος αὐτοῦ. |

T 52

S f. 279

- 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τοῦ σάκα ἄρχων καὶ αἱ τάξεις αἱ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν δου-  
λείαν ἀποκεκληρωμένοι κόπον μείζονα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν  
ὑφίστανται, δεῖ ὑπαλλάττεσθαι τὰς τάξεις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μένοντος  
εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην δουλείαν, εἶπερ καλῶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν κυβερνᾶ,  
ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπηρεσίαν σχολῆς  
10 ἀθροίζων χρησίμως τὴν κοινὴν ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ λειτουργίαν, εἰ μὴ  
B f. 234bis<sup>v</sup> ποτε αὐτὸς | εἶτε δι' ἄρρωστίαν ἢ διὰ τὸν πολὺν κόπον ὀκλάσῃ. τότε  
γὰρ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔξεστιν ἕτερον πεπειραμένον καὶ ἱκανώτατον τὴν  
τοιαύτην πιστεῦεσθαι.

- Τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα μονοπρόσωπα ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν  
15 εἰσόδῳ τὰ τε ἄρματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια  
βαστάζουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τῶν πλειόνων βελῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν  
εἰδῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἀναλισκομένων, χρὴ ταῦτα εἰς τρία διαιρῆσαι,  
καὶ μοῖραν μὲν ἀφορίσαι εἰς τὸ φέρειν τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα ἄρματα, τὴν  
δὲ ἑτέραν πρὸς τὸ τὴν δαπάνην πάντων μονοπροσώπων βαστάζειν,  
20 τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν διδόναι τοῖς τοῦ σάκα, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς πληγάτους καὶ  
τοὺς δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπολιμπανομένους τοὺς τε τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπολωλε-  
κότας ἄλογα καὶ μὴ δυναμένους πεζεῦσαι ἐκείνους τε αὐτοὺς δι'  
αὐτῶν βαστάζωσι καὶ τὸν φόρτον αὐτῶν. |

31: 4 αὐτοῦ Graux: τοῦ ἐχθροῦ SB || 6 ἀποκεκληρωμένοι S: ἀποκεκληρωμένα B || 7 ὑφί-  
στανται S: ἐφίστανται B || 10 χρησίμως Graux: χρησίμως SB || 12 καὶ B: om. S || 17 ταῦτα De:  
ταύτας SB || 21 ἀπολωλεκότας Graux: ἀπολελωκότας SB

## [31.]

Relieving the units assigned to serve in the *saka* because of the heavy labor, but with the commanding officer remaining in place, if possible.

Since the commander of the *saka* and the units that have been detailed to serve in it have to bear more than their share of trouble and hard labor, it is necessary to relieve the units, but with the commander remaining at his task, if he is doing well in directing it. By acquiring a great deal of experience over a long period in that particular service, he will perform that duty for the common benefit very efficiently, unless, of course, ill health or overwork might make him slow down. Then, in his place another experienced and competent man may be entrusted with that duty.

On the march into the enemy's country, the *monoprosopa*, as they are called, carry the armament and all the other siege equipment.<sup>1</sup> But when they leave it, most of the missiles, the other equipment, and arms will have been expended. The *monoprosopa* should then be divided into three sections. One should be assigned to transport the remaining armament. The second should carry the supplies for all the *monoprosopa*. The third should go to the troops in the *saka*, so that they can convey the wounded, those who are so weak they might fall behind, those whose horses have perished and who are unable to proceed on foot by themselves and also carry their gear.

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<sup>1</sup> *Monoprosopon* (relating to or concerning one person) can be used as a simple adjective, a theological term, or a fiscal obligation. In this period it was commonly used to designate a requisitioning of horses imposed on the entire population. Here it clearly means extra horses (possibly also wagons) used to carry baggage or troops. See H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 84 (1960), 1-109; repr. in *Etudes administratives*, viii, 5-6, note 7.

Περὶ τῶν ἐπικειμένων δουλειῶν ὅτι χρή πρὸ ἡμέρας  
ταύτας λελογισμένως τυποῦν καὶ διατίθεσθαι.

Τὰς δὲ ἀναγκαίας δουλείας τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἃς κατὰ τὴν  
5 ἐπιούσαν ἀρμόζει γίνεσθαι, εἴπουν τοὺς μέλλοντας στέλλεσθαι εἰς  
κούρσα εἴτε τοὺς εἰς φυλακὰς τῶν εἰς χρείας ἐξιόντων καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς  
πάσας, ἃς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος παρήκαμεν, τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ  
λελογισμένης βουλῆς καὶ διασκέψεως δεῖ τυποῦν. καὶ ἐγγράφως  
ἀποσημειοῦν καὶ προστάττειν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀποστέλλεσθαι εἰς  
10 ἐκάστην δουλείαν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τοῦ ἐτοίμους εὐρεθῆναι κατὰ τὸν  
προσῆκοντα καιρὸν καὶ μὴ ῥαθυμῆσαντας ἐᾶσαι παραδραμεῖν τοῦ-  
τον καὶ ἀπολέσαι τὰς ἀναγκαίας δουλείας, ἃς τοῦ ἐπιτηδείου καιροῦ  
παραρρεύσαντος καλῶς ἀνυσθῆναι ἀμήχανον. εἰ δέ γε παρ' ἐλπίδα  
συναντήσουσι μανδάτα καὶ δουλείαι ἀπροόπτως συμμεταβαλλέσθω |  
S f. 279<sup>v</sup> 15 τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀπαντῶντα διατιθέσθω.

Ἐβουλόμεθα δὲ καὶ περὶ κούρσων ἐκθέσθαι, πῶς δεῖ εἰσελαύ-  
νειν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν χώρᾳ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ ἀρμοζόντως  
πρὸς τὴν ἐρήμωσιν αὐτῆς διατίθεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὖν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ  
λόγου τὸ τίκειν εἰωθὸς ἀηδῖαν καὶ τὸ πλείστους εἶναι στρατηγούς  
20 οὐκ ὀλίγην πείραν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἔχοντας παρήκαμεν  
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἡγησάμενοι περιττὸν εἶναι περὶ τῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς  
ἐγνωσμένων γράφειν.

## [32.]

Duties that have to be performed. Detailed instructions on carrying them out must be put together the day before.

The necessary duties in the army which are supposed to be done on the following day, such as which men are to be sent on a raid or assigned to guard those who go out for provisions, and all the other duties which on account of their number we have passed over, these ought to be regulated with thorough planning and study on the previous day. The orders should be made clear in writing to the men who will be sent out for each duty, so they will be ready at the proper time. Out of laziness they will not allow the time to slip by so that the necessary duties do not get done. Once the suitable time has passed by, it is impossible to get them accomplished properly. But if there is an unexpected and unforeseen conflict in orders and assignments, let them be changed according to time and need and arranged in keeping with the circumstances.

We had also wanted to explain something about raids and the manner of conducting them in the land of the Agarenes and to set forth suitable and efficient ways of devastating their country. But, because a long treatise usually brings forth unpleasant reactions and because a great many generals do have some experience of such activity, we will pass over the subject. We consider it superfluous to write about something which everyone already knows.

## NOTE ON THE DIAGRAMS

The diagrams found in the manuscripts and reproduced in the text above, which supposedly illustrate the plan of a fortified camp, are sketchy and greatly oversimplified. They show essentially the same plan as that depicted in the *Strategikon* of Maurice several centuries earlier. The first is not much more than an outline of a square with a gate shaped like a backward gamma on each side. Inside the wall are the tents for the infantry, and two streets intersect in the middle. None of the diagrams have the three gates on each side prescribed by the text.

The second diagram shows the imperial tent and the tents of the other officials in the center of two intersecting roads forming a cross which is off balance. The imperial compound, the slanting roads, and other features correspond a little bit more to the text. The third is similar, but is more symmetrical. The fourth maintains the same basic pattern, but is more elaborate. A number of clear spaces, perhaps walls, are shown, and the emperor's tent appears connected to some others, possibly forming a sort of pavilion. The camp is surrounded by bells hanging from ropes tied to stakes fixed in the ground, as recommended in the text. The fifth illustration is a crude drawing of what seem to be siege weapons, wagons, and some animals. Its connection with the text is not clear.

Some attempts to illustrate the plan of a fortified camp as described in this treatise are given below. The people who wrote this manual and who first read it had seen and probably lived in such camps. Much of what seems obscure to the modern reader was undoubtedly clear to them. For example, the book stipulates that certain tents should be placed to the left and to the right of the emperor's tent, but it does not tell us in what direction the emperor's tent was to face, and the diagrams offer no help in this. The proper direction may have been obvious to a contemporary. All we can do is to suppose that the Byzantines continued the Roman tradition, and hazard the guess that the imperial tent faced east.

The text is clear on the general measurements of the camp, the number and location of the gates, and the size of the imperial compound. Some of the main roads are described as oblique or slanted, and they are drawn in that way in the second diagram. It is not at all clear, however, what their direction should be on the larger scale with twelve gates.

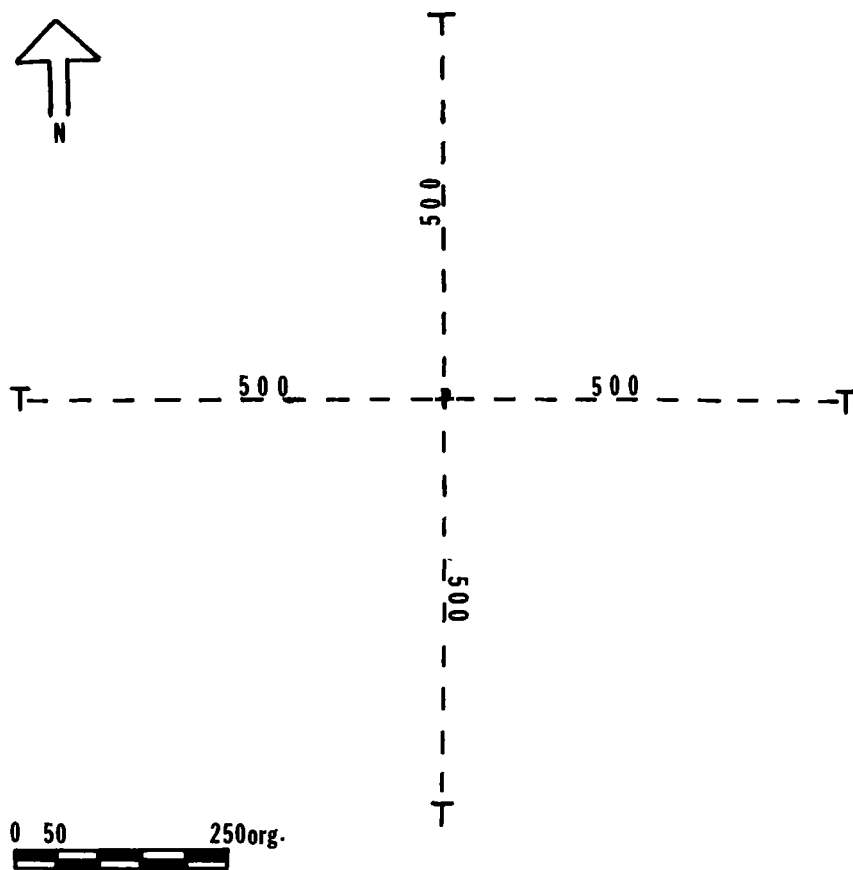
The text stipulates that the thematic troops should pitch their tents on the four sides of the imperial compound, forming the arms of a cross on the general plan. This would leave the four corner sections free. Light-armed troops (*psiloi*), if present, were to occupy one corner, in the form of an L, in each section. Perhaps the rest of the space was given over to workshops, storage, medical facilities, and the like.

Very little has been written about the Byzantine expeditionary camp. Neither Graux nor Vári published, or even discussed, the diagrams of a camp which are found in the manuscripts as part of the treatise. J. Kulakovskij noted this in his

review of Vári's edition, and then composed a more detailed article on the tenth-century Byzantine camp: "Vizantijskij lager' kontsa X veka," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 10 (1903), 63–91. He reproduced one of the diagrams and drew up a plan of the camp according to the instructions given in the text. Finally, he translated the first eight chapters of the treatise into Russian. The camp described here is included in a broader study by R. Grosse, "Das römisch-byzantinische Marschlager von 4. bis 10. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 22 (1913), 90–121. He also reproduces the plan of the camp made by Kulakovskij. G. Kolias presents a general picture of what the sources, including the present one, from Roman times to the twelfth century have to say about military camps: "Περὶ ἀπλήκτου," *Ἐπετερίς τῆς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 17 (1941), 144–84.



# CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

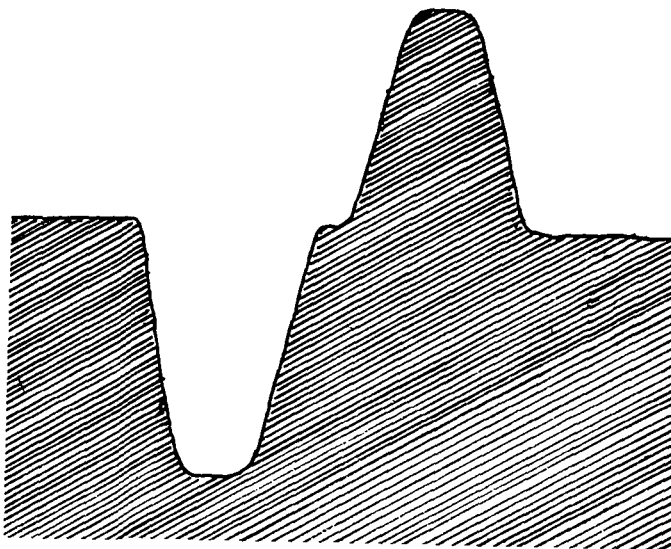


⊕ IMPERIAL BANNER

⊔ TAXIARCH'S BANNER

10A. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp,  
Measured and Directional Scheme

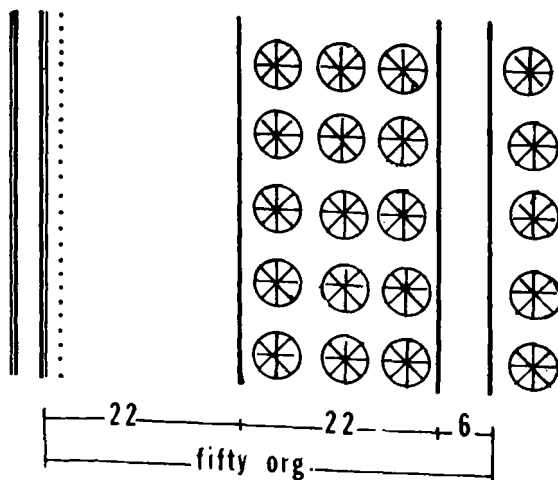
Treatise on Campaign Organization and Tactics



1 foot

10B. Ditch and Rampart around Camp

rampart   space   infantry tents   road   cavalry tents

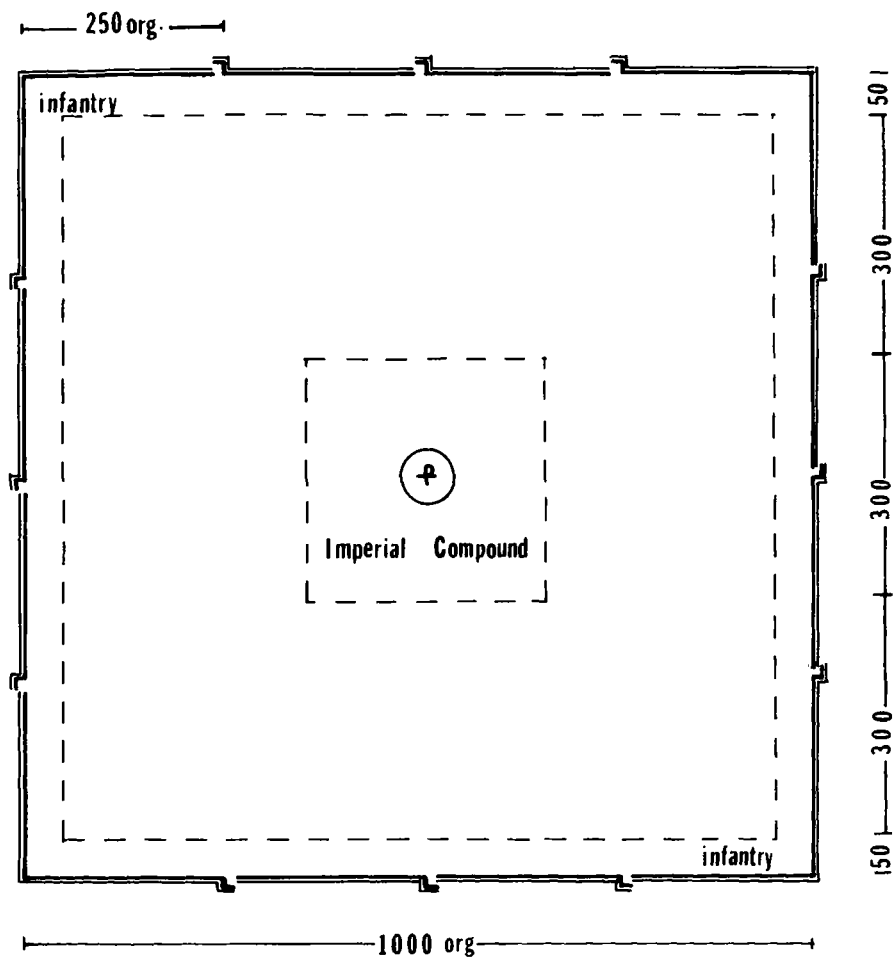


10C. Inside the Rampart

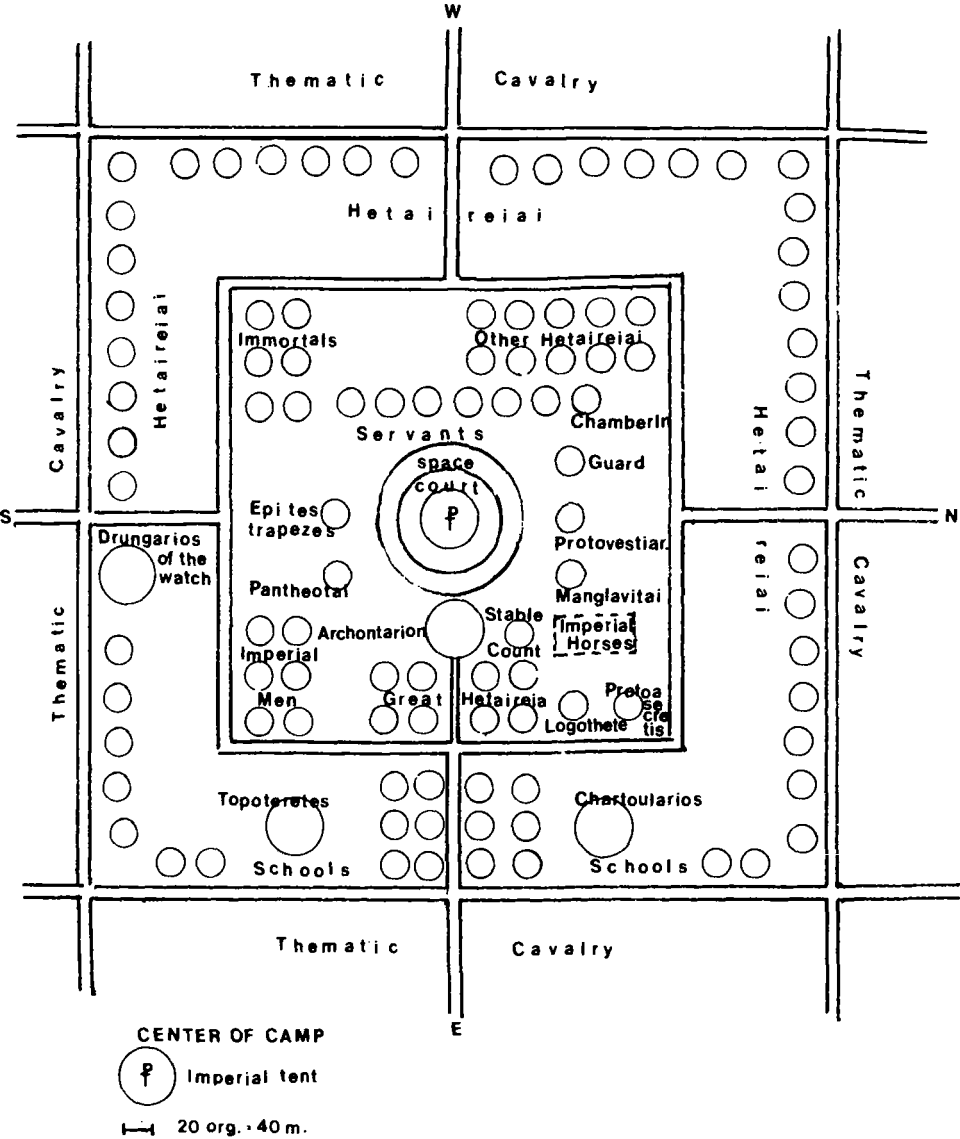


WALL WITH GATE

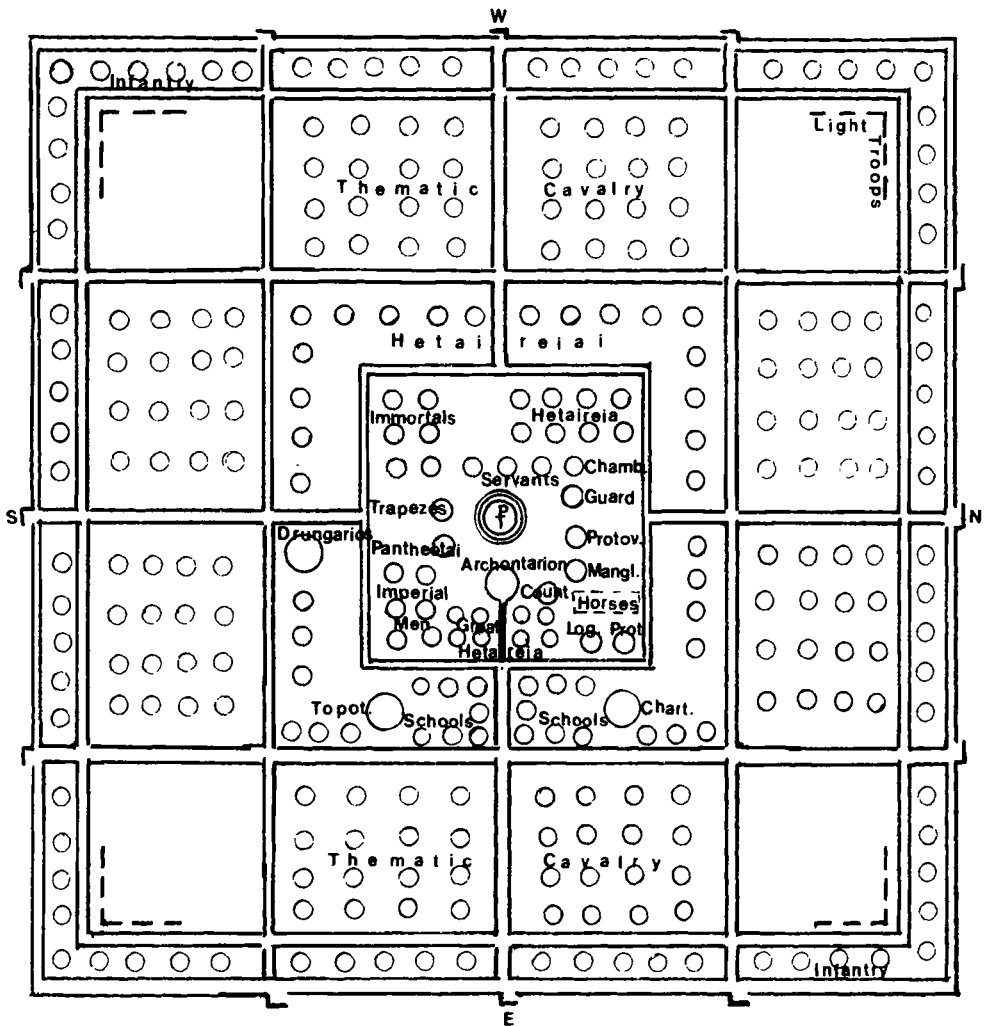
4 org. = 8 m.



10D. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp, General Plan



10E. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp, Center of Camp



— 25 org. = 50 m.



Imperial tent

GENERAL PLAN OF CAMP

10F. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp, Detailed General Plan

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